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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 12, December 1985

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5 March 1986

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

### VIETNAM

#### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 12, December 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## TEN YEARS OF GLORIOUS VICTORIES OF THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 1-4, 14

[Editorial]

[Text] Ten years ago, the Lao revolution won a victory of decisive significance. Seizing the favorable opportunity brought about by the revolutionary situations of the fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party decided upon the strategy of leading the people in mass uprisings and full-scale attacks, to combine the armed struggle and the political-legal struggle, quickly crush the forces and the ruling apparatus of the reactionaries and seize state power. On 2 December 1975, the National Congress, representing the solid unity of the people of the Lao tribes and their desire to be the masters of their country, formally declared the establishment of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

The birth of the Lao People's Democratic Republic was a political event of very important significance. It brought to a complete end nearly one century of rule by colonialists, both old style and new, and abolished the feeble and outmoded monarchy that had reigned in Laos for thousands of years. It ushered in a new era, the most brilliant era in the history of the Lao tribes of building and defending the country: the era of perpetual independence and freedom, of the advance to socialism, of building a life of comfort and happiness. This great historic event also marked a stage of development in the revolution of the peoples of the three countries on the Indochina peninsula and contributed a victory to the struggle by progressive mankind for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

During the past 10 years, under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party headed by its esteemed General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihan, and making full use of the effective tool that is theirs in exercising and defending their right of ownership, the Lao People's Democratic Republic State, the people of Lao tribes, united in their purpose and by fighting bravely, working diligently and creatively, overcoming each difficulty and adversity, making every effort to build socialism and staunchly defending the fatherland, have made extraordinary strides forward in every field.

Large victories have been won in the cause of defending the fatherland. Immediately after the revolutionary administration had been established throughout the country of Laos, the U.S. imperialists, under their "post-war plan" and through the radical right wing reactionaries in Thailand and Lao reactionaries in exile, continuously conducted acts of provocation and instigated armed conflicts along the border while creating disorder in the mountainous jungle areas inside Laos. In the late 1970's, these vile actions were aided and strongly supported by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles. Showing themselves to be the reactionaries that they really are and acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and radical right wing Thai reactionary powers, they carried out wide-ranging acts of sabotage in every field--the military field, the security fields, politics-ideology, the economy, the cultural-social field and so forth--with the aim of weakening Laos in order to eventually invade and annex that country. However, every insidious intention of every enemy was exposed and thwarted by the high sense of vigilance and the tenacious fighting spirit of the Lao people. The reactionaries' bases and their plans to foment insurrection were crushed. Thai forces were duly punished for their acts of provocation and acts of encroachment and occupation along the border. The enemy's scheme of dividing Laos from the other countries on the Indochina peninsula was defeated. Political security has been firmly maintained. The people's army and the people's security forces of Laos have continuously grown in both size and quality.

Efforts to restore and develop the economy have been and are profoundly changing the face of Laos. The 3-year plan (1978-1980) and the first 5-year plan (1981-1985) were completed well. The gross social product and income per capita have risen rapidly. Between 1976 and 1985, the gross social product rose 218 percent and per capita income rose 157 percent. Agricultural cooperativization has been strongly promoted. Nearly 3,000 agricultural cooperatives have been established throughout the country. These cooperatives are making every effort to build water conservancy projects and emulating one another in the application of new farming methods and scientific-technical advances with a view toward achieving high yields. Between 1976 and 1985, total agricultural output increased 204.9 percent, paddy output increased 222.5 percent, the buffalo herd increased 151.9 percent, the cattle herd increased 176.7 percent, timber output increased 26 times... Laos, which once had to import grain each year, has been virtually self-sufficient in grain since 1980. In 1984, despite a severe drought, Laos still managed to record a major victory in agriculture, harvesting 1.3 million tons of paddy.

In industry, due to the sabotage carried out by reactionaries, many factories and enterprises were closed or operating at reduced capacity at the time of liberation. Today, all factories and enterprises have resumed operations. Many basic units have met and exceeded pre-liberation production levels. The Nam Ngum Hydroelectric Power Plant has been expanded, which has increased its capacity five-fold compared to 1975, and now supplies electricity for domestic production and consumption. Dozens of new factories and enterprises have been built and put into production.

Changes have also occurred in the handicraft trades. The production of traditional handicraft products has been restored. In communications and

transportation during the past 10 years, 12,982 kilometers of highway have been widened and upgraded and water routes along the Mekong River have been improved and fully utilized. Dozens of large and small airports have been repaired, thus making air travel among the different regions of the country and overseas possible.

On the cultural and social front, together with the significant achievement of having wiped out illiteracy nationwide, the education and public health networks of Laos are being steadily expanded. Today, the country has nearly 7,000 general schools on the various levels. Enrollment has risen 177 percent compared to 1976. Under the old system Laos had not one college. Today, eight colleges have been built. Each year, about 7,000 students graduate from Level III schools and colleges. The corps of technical cadres now numbers 40,000 members, 5,000 of whom have a college level education. Many new hospitals have been built. Between 1976 and 1985, the number of hospital beds increased 160 percent and the number of public health cadres increased 87 percent. The country now has about 870 hospitals and medical aid stations from the central to the village levels staffed by more than 10,000 public health cadres who care for the health of the people night and day.

Under its foreign policy of peace, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has made major contributions to strengthening the fighting alliance and comprehensive cooperation among the peoples of the three countries on the Indochina peninsula and to the common struggle to make Southeast Asia a region of peace, stability and cooperation. Together with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has made positive contributions to fortifying and strengthening the solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. The Lao People's Democratic Republic has also made noteworthy contributions to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world. The international position and prestige of Laos have been continuously heightened.

In the history of a country, 10 years are only a very short period of time. However, during the past 10 years, the revolutionary administration and people of Laos have recorded tremendous achievements that have completely changed the face of their country. Viewed against the background of a Laos that has faced a socio-economic situation marked by poverty and backwardness, a Laos that bears deep wounds of war and the harmful vestiges left behind in many fields by colonialism and feudalism and a Laos whose external enemies have continuously looked for every way to oppose and attack it, these achievements assume even greater significance and are not only worthy of being a legitimate source of pride to the Lao people, but have also warmed the hearts of their brothers and friends, of every peace loving and progressive person in the world.

As neighboring countries that share the Truong Son Mountain Range and have faced common circumstances in the struggle to survive and make progress, the relations between Vietnam and Laos have been close for generations. Over the past century and more, the struggle for national liberation has brought the peoples of the two countries even closer together, strengthened their unity and deepened their understanding of and sympathy for each other. These

traditional feelings were further strengthened through the efforts of President Ho Chi Minh. His moving lines of poetry will be a part of us forever:

Loving one another, we climb the same mountains  
Ford the same rivers, traverse the same passes.

The affection between our two countries of Vietnam and Laos  
Runs deeper than the Red River, deeper than the Mekong River.

Chiefly as a result of the close bond between them, of always standing shoulder to shoulder in the spirit of "sharing joys and sorrows," of joining efforts in the fight and coordinating these efforts well, the two nations defeated "imperialist powers"--France and the United States--and have advanced the cause of revolution of the two countries to victory after victory. As Le Duan observed: "Built upon Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the special relations between Vietnam and Laos have created a remarkable spiritual and material strength that has helped the people of the two countries to always know who their enemies are, see through to their malicious schemes, evade every danger, prevail over every reactionary power and lead the two nations to the shores of glory."(1)

The communists and people of Vietnam have been following, with admiration and special feelings, and have a high appraisal of the victories won by the fraternal people of Laos. Clearly recognizing that each victory of the Vietnamese revolution has been won in part as a result of contributions made by the Lao people, we wish to express our profound joy and delight over the achievements that have been recorded in every field by the country of Laos and sincerely thank the Lao tribes for the valuable support and assistance that they have given to our people. We are extremely delighted over the new stage of development that has been reached in the friendship and cooperative relations between Vietnam and Laos. We are deeply moved by the heartfelt words spoken by Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, concerning Viet-Lao relations: "Brimming with comradely and fraternal affection that exists between the two parties, the two states and the peoples of our two countries in each field, cooperation that has taken a wide variety of effective forms....has made very important contributions to creating a solid strategic position for the Lao revolution and strongly developing its subjective factors in the new stage. Today, the tradition of the exemplary, pure and loyal unity and fighting alliance between the two nations is bearing more brilliant fruit than ever before."(2)

Loyal to the teachings of the great President Ho Chi Minh, with a full comprehension of our party's stand that the special relations among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are a law in the development of the revolutions of the three countries, are of vital significance in the destiny of our three nations and in the spirit of the Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1977 and the Declaration of the High Level Conference of the Three Countries of Indochina held in Vientiane in February 1983, we promise to do our very best to cultivate and strengthen the militant solidarity, the special relations and the loyal, pure friendship between Vietnam and Laos as well as among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and keep them forever fresh, forever enduring

and strong. Generation after generation, we will always wholeheartedly fulfill each international obligation to the fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula, to not hesitate in the face of hardships or fear sacrifices. At the same time, we will continuously make positive contributions to strengthening the close coordination between us in every field with a view toward achieving increasing results in each country's socialist construction and defense of the socialist fatherland.

We share their joy and excitement on this the 10th anniversary of the victory of their revolution and the 10th National Day of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (2 December 1975-2 December 1985). On this occasion, from the bottom of our hearts, we extend to the fraternal people of Laos our most sincere regards. We wish the people of Laos, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party headed by the esteemed General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihane, ever larger and more brilliant victories, victories that make the land of the beautiful Champa flower increasingly prosperous and strong and make worthy contributions to the cause of revolution in Indochina and throughout the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Tinh hình thế giới và chính sách đối ngoại của chúng ta"[The World Situation and Our Foreign Policy], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 121.
2. Kaysone Phomvihane: "The Lao People's Revolutionary Party's 30 Years of Struggle for National Independence and Socialism," TAP CHI CONG SAN, March, 1985, p 35.

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## THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AT 10 YEARS OF AGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 5-14

[Article by Souphanouvong, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic]

[Text] State power is the fundamental issue of every social revolution. For 3 decades, imbued with this thinking of the great Lenin, the people of the Lao tribes, in their fight against the imperialists and their lackeys to liberate the country, waged a brave and tenacious struggle to gradually seize political power for themselves. In the spring of 1975, the revolutionary situation in Indochina changed very quickly. The fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia won complete victories in their effort to liberate their countries. Seizing upon this opportunity, an opportunity that comes but once in history, the people of the Lao tribes, under the correct and talented leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, arose in mass uprisings, virtually crushed the lackey puppet government in the provinces, municipalities and the capital Vientiane and established the People's Democratic Administration.

With this victory, the people of the Lao tribes totally liberated their country and seized political power nationwide.

On 1 and 2 December 1975, the National Congress of People's Delegates, meeting in the capital Vientiane, accepted the abdication of Savang Vatthana, accepted the dissolution of the Political Coalition National Council and the Provisional Coalition Government established under the 1973 Vientiane Agreement on Laos and established the Lao People's Democratic Republic State.

The birth of the Lao People's Democratic Republic State was an event of extremely important significance in the history of Laos. It totally abolished the ruling system of the colonialists, both old style and new, that had oppressed and exploited the people of Laos for nearly 1 century and kept Laos in slavery and ignorance. At the same time, it brought to an end the backward, feeble and outmoded monarchy.

With the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic, the people of the Lao tribes, once the oppressed and enslaved citizens of a colony, became the masters of their country and began making every effort to build a life of



comfort and happiness for themselves. The state is the effective tool of the people of the Lao tribes in their cause of defending and building their beloved fatherland. Under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the state is truly a state of, by and for the people, a state that makes every effort to uphold the people's right of ownership and serve their interests. The state has a solid base in the Lao Front for National Construction and the mass organizations within the Front, which are steadily broadening the unity of the people on the basis of the alliance of workers and farmers and mobilizing each stratum of the people to participate in strengthening the People's Democratic Administration and display their spirit of ownership by making positive contributions to the cause of defending and building the fatherland.

Born when the country was totally liberated, the Lao People's Democratic Republic State has been fulfilling the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has the task of leading the country directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, as set forth in the line adopted at the 3rd Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party. The state has two strategic tasks that must be carried out simultaneously: defending and building socialism. On the one hand, it must crush all resistance by domestic counter-revolutionaries and defeat each scheme and act of aggression of external enemies. On the other hand, it must make every effort to build a socialist society. These two tasks are equally important and closely interrelated. The task of building the economy and carrying out cultural development is considered to be the task of most decisive importance to the Lao People's Democratic Republic because these are the goals of the socialist revolution and lay the groundwork for firmly defending the fatherland and the new system.

During the past 10 years, the state has constantly been strengthened and constantly grown. Not only has the administration apparatus on the central level been expanded and strengthened, but the administration apparatus on the local level has been strengthened as well. The Supreme People's Council appointed by the National Congress of People's Delegates in 1975 has taken positive steps to fulfill its function as the highest organ of state power. The Council of Ministers, the highest executive and administrative body of the state, has been continuously expanded and strengthened in the process of providing state management, especially those sectors whose function it is to provide economic and cultural management. The law on the organization of the Council of Ministers was promulgated in 1978 and amended in 1982 with a view toward helping the Council of Ministers manage each aspect of social life more effectively. The Supreme People's Court was established in accordance with Supreme People's Council Decision Number 01/83 dated 11 January 1983 to insure correct trial proceedings and fully protect the legitimate interests of the citizen. In the localities, people's councils and administration committees have been elected on the various levels and are operating in accordance with the spirit and content of Law Number 101 dated 31 July 1978 on the organization of the people's councils and administration committees on the various levels with the aim of upholding the right of ownership of the people of all tribes in defending and building the new system. National defense forces and people's security forces have been built up by the state and have constantly grown.

Ten years are a brief span of time compared to the history of a nation. During these 10 years, the Lao People's Democratic Republic State has clearly shown its superiority and recorded significant achievements.

#### 1. National Defense-Security:

Following 30 years of war to liberate the country, the people of the Lao tribes wanted to live a tranquil and stable life in peace so that they could build the country and continuously improve their spiritual and material lives. However, immediately after the country was liberated, the state had to contend with old and new enemies collaborating with one another in a vain attempt to weaken and topple the newly established revolutionary state by every means possible.

The U.S. imperialists, although defeated and forced to withdraw from Indochina, have continued to stubbornly cling to Thailand and use the territory of that country as the base for sending agents back into Laos to establish reactionary bases. They have also tricked, enticed or forced tens of thousands of persons into emigrating and organized the disruption of order and unrest on hundreds of different occasions inside Laos. The reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and radical right wing Thai reactionaries, have also been actively waging psychological warfare and doing everything they can to deceive the people, divide them from the revolution, sow divisions among the various tribes and divide Laos from the fraternal countries, especially from Vietnam, with the aims of isolating and weakening the Lao People's Democratic Republic. They have trained and are supporting thousands of exiled Lao reactionaries and have assembled a number of lackeys to organize acts of banditry and commando operations to create disorder and sabotage the tranquil life of the people in a number of areas. They have sought by every means possible to create hostilities between Thailand and Laos. They have, through radical right wing Thai elements, carried out numerous acts of provocation, violated the territory of Laos and closed the border between Thailand and Laos in a vain attempt to establish an economic embargo against Laos. Recently, they sent military forces to attack three Lao villages in the province of Sayaboury.

Clearly aware of the reactionary nature and cunning schemes of the enemy, the state, under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party has made constant educational efforts to heighten the vigilance of all strata of the people and has constantly strengthened the national defense system and people's security forces. As a result, we have promptly thwarted and defeated each scheme and act of provocation, infiltration, harassment and subversion of the enemy. During the past 10 years, despite the enemy's many attempts to create difficulties for the young Lao People's Democratic Republic State, the state has, for the most part, managed to maintain political security and protect the new social order nationwide. The Lao People's Army and the Lao People's Security Forces, which have constantly grown and developed in both size and quality and upheld the nation's tradition of bravery in combat, have become the central force in the cause of defending the fatherland and stand ready to defeat each scheme and act of aggression and sabotage of the enemy.



The reeducation of tens of thousands of soldiers, policemen and officers of the old regime and the restoration of their rights of citizenship by the state constitute another victory that we have won. Realizing that the state's policy of humanitarianism and clemency was sincere, they repented for their past mistakes and have been participating in productive labor, thereby doing their part to help the people in the work of building the country.

## 2. The Economy

Following liberation, one pressing task faced by the state was the need to make every effort to restore and develop the economy, heal the wounds of war and stabilize the living conditions of the people. Our next task was to begin the country's advance to socialism under the conditions of a largely natural, subsistent economy. The majority of the social labor force consisted of agricultural labor employing crude production techniques and labor productivity was very low. Agriculture was exceedingly small in scale and dependent upon the outside. Communications and transportation posed many difficulties.

Under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the state has always considered the transformation and development of the economy to be the task of foremost importance and has worked hard to overcome difficulties, restore and develop production and gradually stabilize the standard of living. The state nationalized all banks and large enterprises of the old regime and private individuals, thereby taking control of the finance, communications, posts-telecommunications, power, water and other important economic sectors. During the past 10 years, as a result of adopting a correct line and the efforts it has made combined with the large and valuable assistance provided by the fraternal socialist countries and our friends throughout the world, the state has recorded encouraging achievements in the restoration, transformation and development of the economy. Compared to 1976, the gross social product has increased 218 percent and national income per capita has increased 157 percent.

In agriculture and forestry, the two strengths of the Lao economy, the state's policy calls for the development of a diversified agriculture and the development of the strengths of the country that lie in grain, industrial crops, livestock production and forestry, with efforts focused on resolving the grain and food problem in a way that provides a stable supply while producing many agricultural products, forest products and goods for exportation with a view toward supporting socialist industrialization and meeting the food and clothing needs of the people. To step up agricultural production and implement the line of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the state has also successfully carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture. During the past 10 years, as a result of the adoption of a correct policy and the active implementation of this policy, important victories have been won in agricultural production. Between 1976 and 1985, total agricultural output increased 204.9 percent; paddy output increased 222.54 percent; the buffalo herd increased 151.95 percent; the cattle herd increased 176.69 percent; timber output increased 26 times; and the output of native and forest products increased at the annual rate of 1.27 percent. The state has also made every effort to organize the clearing of land, the

restoration of fields to production, the adoption of intensive cultivation and multicropping and the construction of water conservancy projects. The agricultural cooperativization movement has also vigorously developed. The country currently has 2,932 agricultural cooperatives. As a result of the development of agriculture, Laos has not had to import rice since 1980.

In industry, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has also recorded important victories over the past 10 years. When it was first established, the revolutionary administration took over a crippled and backward industry that had been ravaged by war. Many factories and enterprises in the newly liberated areas of the country were sabotaged by the reactionaries before they fled. They dismantled and took with them valuable machines and parts. They also enticed and persuaded skilled workers to flee with them. As a result, many factories were forced to close or operate at only one-half of the level at which they operated before liberation.

Fully understanding the role of industry in the period of transition to socialism and in keeping with the line on industry of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the state has worked hard to restore and enlarge existing factories, acquire necessary machinery and train, either at home or abroad, thousands of engineers and technical workers to augment the industrial sector. Today, all enterprises have resumed operations. Many have met and exceeded pre-liberation production levels, such as the tobacco, textile and match factories, sawmills and wood processing mills, electric power plants, water plants, etc. In 1975, the Nam Ngum Hydroelectric Power Plant was a two turbine plant with a capacity of only 30,000 kw. It has since been expanded to five turbines and now has a capacity of 150,000 kw. The tin mines in Khammouan Province, where the French colonialists once used manual labor to extract ore, have now been equipped with the necessary machinery and their mining operations have been expanded.

In conjunction with restoring and enlarging old enterprises, the state has also attached importance to building many new factories and enterprises. To date, dozens of new factories and enterprises have been constructed and put into production, rice mills, building material production plants, machine works, plants producing livestock feed and veterinary medicines, salt production units, gypsum mines, etc.

Along with restoring and developing industry, the state has given its attention to restoring and developing the handicraft trades. Prior to liberation day, the production of many famous handicraft products that reflected the nation's cultural tradition and were liked in the world, such as rattan and bamboo ware, ceramic ware, brocade and so forth, declined because these products could not compete with foreign goods. Under its policy of encouraging the development of the handicraft trades, the state has concerned itself with organizing cooperatives and handicraft teams in the woven wood products, woven rugs, ceramic ware and other trades and helping them to produce many products of value in the daily lives of the people and as export goods.

The development of industry, although only in the initial stage, has helped to support agriculture and forestry and stimulate the overall development of the country's economy.

On the communications-transportation front, the state has, since liberation day, given very much attention to the repair and expansion of the road network nationwide. Because the country's terrain is rather irregular and rugged and its population sparse and decentralized, communications-transportation are considered the leading edge of development, considered important not only to the economy, but also very important politically, culturally and from the standpoint of national defense and security.

During the past 10 years, 12,982 kilometers of highway, mainly inter-provincial roads, have been widened and upgraded. Along with repairing and widening roads, the state has given its attention to the expansion of water transport, primarily by improving transportation along the Mekong River from northern to southern Laos and making full use of other rivers and the major tributaries of the Mekong River to enable safe boat traffic and provide rapid and convenient transportation. The state has also repaired dozens of large and small airports and restored and developed air communications among the provinces of the country and with foreign countries.

The above mentioned achievements in communications and transportation have played an important role in supporting the circulation of goods, meeting the everyday needs of the people and supporting the national defense system.

### 3. Culture and Education

Due to the serious consequences of colonial and feudal rule, the cultural standards of the vast majority of our people and cadres were low. The majority of the people of the tribes were illiterate. At many places, superstitious beliefs and backward customs were deeply entrenched and posed a major obstacle to the work of building and defending the fatherland.

After the country was liberated, in keeping with the party's line that the ideological-cultural revolution be one step ahead of development in other fields and that we make education our central task in this revolution, the state began working to wipe out illiteracy and bring about development within the fields of culture and education.

In education, the state has launched a widespread and continuous education movement among the people, cadres, workers and troops and intensified educational efforts in all three areas: popular education, supplementary education and general school education. Generally speaking, encouraging victories have been won in education over the past 10 years. Illiteracy has been virtually wiped out nationwide. The number of persons attending supplementary education classes now stands at 177,938. The general school education network has been strongly developed. Between 1976 and 1985, general school enrollment (excluding Buddhist seminaries) increased 177 percent. The

state has also concerned itself with education on the college level. In the past, Laos had no colleges. Today, on the basis of the requirements involved in economic and cultural development, the state has established eight colleges.

In cultural work, the state has taken positive steps to build the new culture, a socialist culture that is revolutionary, national and popular in character. On the cultural front, the state has been making every effort to wipe out the cultural and ideological vestiges of colonialism and feudalism, especially those left behind by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and gradually eradicate the backward customs that pose obstacles to the people in their production and everyday lives. On the other hand, it has given attention to maintaining and preserving the beautiful cultural heritage of the nation and building upon the new culture that has been established in the course of the war of resistance and the revolution. During the past 10 years, the information, press, broadcasting, television, publishing, cinematography, literature, art and other sectors have steadily developed and made positive contributions to the eradication of the vestiges of the old culture and the establishment of the new culture described above by enhancing the spiritual and cultural lives of the Lao tribes and inspiring each stratum of the people to enthusiastically participate in the work of building and defending the fatherland.

We have also recorded a significant achievement in the field of public health. The state has concerned itself with providing health care to the people. In the past, when they became ill, the people of the Lao tribes rarely received scientific medical treatment. Rather, they relied mainly upon local experience and frequently upon sacrificial offerings. This situation has gradually been corrected. The state has been making every effort to develop the public health network to the village level, especially in remote wilderness areas. Many hospitals, medical aid stations and maternity clinics have been constructed, strengthened and developed. The state has also given its attention to the training of public health cadres. In addition to the middle level and elementary public health schools that train pharmacists, doctors' assistants and nurses, a medical college has been established to train specialized doctors and highly skills assistants. The state has also constructed pharmaceutical enterprises to research and manufacture drugs from domestically available pharmaceuticals under the guideline of combining modern pharmacy with the nation's traditional drugs. It has intensified the hygiene and sanitation movement and has placed primary emphasis upon the prevention of disease and epidemics combined with medical treatment. As a result, we have promptly extinguished epidemics and are gradually eliminating diseases that are widespread among the population, such as malaria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, etc.

During the past 10 years, the number of hospitals and medical aid stations, from the central to the village levels, has risen to 872. The number of hospital beds has increased 160 percent compared to 1976. The number of public health cadres reached 4,370 in 1985, a 187 percent increase compared to 1976.

#### 4. Foreign Affairs

During the past 10 years, under its foreign policy of peace, friendship, independence and socialism, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has achieved large results.

Most importantly, the solidarity, friendship, fighting alliance, special relations and comprehensive cooperation between Laos and Vietnam and among Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia have been strengthened with each passing day. Our state considers this to be an historic necessity to the three nations on the Indochina peninsula, nations that share a common history, a common geography and hold special revolutionary feelings for one another, nations that faced common enemies in years past, the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, and face a common enemy today, the expansionists and hegemonists within Beijing ruling circles, nations that share the same revolutionary goals of carrying out the national democratic revolution and advancing to the socialist revolution. This is not only a strategic task, a factor in the victory of the Lao revolution, but is also an international obligation of the state and people of Laos. The special friendly relations mentioned above were given concrete expression by the signing of the Laos-Vietnam Cooperation Treaty in July 1977 and other agreements and the signing of agreements between Laos and Cambodia on exchanges in the fields of economics, culture, trade and other fields. One major victory in the relations among Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia was the High-Level Conference of the Three Countries of Indochina held in Vientiane in February 1983, which assessed the overall situation of the revolutions of the three countries and set forth principles, guidelines and measures aimed at achieving stronger solidarity and cooperation in every field and helping one another build and defend our countries, thereby helping to safeguard peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

In conjunction with our solidarity and fighting alliance with the peoples of the two countries of Vietnam and Cambodia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has made every effort to build and strengthen our solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. This is a permanent, unchanging policy based in principle of the Lao party and state, who are determined to achieve success in defending the country and building socialism. In recent years, many delegations from Laos have visited the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries and signed treaties of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Mongolia, the GDR, Cuba, etc. The Lao People's Democratic Republic also participates as an observer in CEMA.

Our state has also given attention to developing relations of friendship and cooperation with the other countries of Southeast Asia on the basis of the principle of respect for one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and developing economic cooperation and cultural exchanges based on mutual benefit for the purpose of building our countries as dictated by the separate path chosen by each. The Lao People's Democratic Republic has always given its wholehearted support to the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism, both old and new, against racism, zionism and apartheid. It supports the nationalist countries in their struggle to safeguard and perfect their



national independence. It fully supports the struggle of the working class and laboring people of the capitalist countries for peace, democracy and social progress.

During the past 10 years, as a result of pursuing this positive and correct foreign policy, the position and prestige of the Lao People's Democratic Republic have been constantly enhanced in the international arena. Today, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is a member of the socialist community, the United Nations, the Non-aligned Movement and many progressive international organizations. It has established diplomatic relations with more than 30 countries and has commercial relations with dozens of other countries in the world.

Compared to the old system, the above mentioned achievements recorded by the Lao People's Democratic Republic during the past 10 years represent a leap forward. However, they are also only very modest initial achievements in the beginning stage of the period of transition to socialism. As the 3rd Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party pointed out: "Advancing to socialism from a small-scale agricultural economy that is still a natural, subsistent economy is a very new approach, one for which there is virtually no precedent in the world. This path will require that we take many intermediary, transitional steps; this path will be long and exceedingly difficult." Together with Vietnam and Cambodia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is also an outpost of the socialist system in Southeast Asia. The imperialists and domestic and foreign reactionary powers are collaborating with one another in extensive efforts to sabotage the socialist revolution of Laos. In view of these circumstances, the struggle by the Lao People's Democratic Republic to advance to socialism will be a very arduous, difficult, complex and bitter struggle. In this struggle, under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the people of the Lao tribes have an effective tool at their disposal, the people's democratic state. Therefore, of pressing importance in advancing the socialist revolution to victory is the need to strengthen and constantly increase the effectiveness of the people's democratic state in the new stage of the revolution. On the basis of the realities of past years and in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 3rd Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the people's democratic state must be consolidated and strengthened in accordance with the following guidelines:

1. Attention must be given to strengthening the state administration on the central level as well as in the localities, especially on the basic level.

The Lao people's democratic state is a state of the people. Its political base is the people's councils on the various levels that are elected by the people to uphold their right as the collective masters of their country. As the representative agencies of the people, the people's councils exercise state power on behalf of the people. Every important issue of the country and the people, national as well as local, is decided by the people's council on the corresponding level. However, not all cadres or all the people understand this. At many places, the people's council has not been strengthened and the activities being conducted by the council are weak and only a matter of form. There are even some places at which the people's council does nothing and is,

therefore, unable to play the role of an organ of state power. This is a weakness in the activities of the state apparatus. In the coming period that lies ahead, it is necessary to strengthen the people's councils on all levels through council elections and insure that these councils uphold the right of ownership of the people and conduct activities that are consistent with their role of deciding the important matters of the state on behalf of the people and supervising the activities of the state administration on all levels.

Strengthening and perfecting the state also demand that we increase the effectiveness of the state management apparatus, especially in the area of economic management, because economic activities are the basis of every other activity and constitute a relatively new and difficult field for the state. In the process of advancing to socialism, the country's situation will change and develop with each passing day. State management agencies must always give their attention to strengthening and improving themselves so that their actions are consistent with the country's developing situation. Each state management agency must improve its organization, improve its management methods, combat bureaucracy, authoritarian attitudes, inertia and conservatism and make every effort to streamline its apparatus so that the management of the country, the management of society produce high results in every field. On the other hand, as the tool used to build and defend socialism, the people's democratic state must attach importance to strengthening national defense and security forces to insure that these forces are fully capable of thwarting and defeating every action taken against the country by domestic and foreign enemies.

Lastly, to establish a dictatorship over our enemies and uphold the legitimate and lawful interests of the citizen, the court system must be consolidated and strengthened, especially on the district level. At present, these agencies are weak both from the standpoint of their organization and the activities they conduct. The court system must be strengthened organizationally and trial procedures must be improved. We must insure that the Supreme People's Court is truly the highest trial organization of the state, that it correctly exercises its authority to supervise trial proceedings throughout the country and that the courts on the various levels reflect the people's right of ownership in this field. In conjunction with consolidating and strengthening the court system, it is also necessary to establish a system of control organizations tasked with insuring the correct and uniform enforcement of the laws of the people's democratic state throughout the country and combating every violation of the people's right of ownership.

2. Another important issue is the need to strengthen the socialist system of law. In order for the management of society to yield the desired results, the state must give its attention to establishing laws and managing society in accordance with laws. Laws must reflect the will of the people under the leadership of the party and must concretize the lines and policies of the party in power so that these lines and policies become part of life and are implemented well. The state has not made much progress in drafting new laws. This effort must be intensified. The state must soon complete the drafting of its socialist constitution and must, on the basis of the constitution, gradually draft an increasingly full body of law to lay the basis for the activities of each agency, each organization, each cadre and citizen. Within

this system of law, special attention must be given to drafting economic laws designed to protect and stimulate the development of the national economy. The state must also give its attention to doing more to publicize the laws that have been promulgated, insuring correct and effective compliance with the law and preventing and harshly prosecuting actions that violate the law and the people's right of ownership.

3. We cannot consolidate and strengthen the People's Democratic Administration without addressing the cadre issue, because, the effectiveness of the state depends mainly upon the corps of cadres. The people of the Lao tribes, once slaves, seized political power, became the masters of the country and are now managing the country by themselves. These conditions require that the people build a corps of state cadres who are fully capable of managing society well. In the course of advancing to socialism, the activities of the state will steadily expand in every field. Therefore, the state must attach importance to intensifying the training of cadres, especially administration cadres and economic management cadres, so that they meet the required political and specialized standards, are skilled in their professions, possess good revolutionary qualities and are fully capable of undertaking and successfully completing each difficult task in the new stage of the revolution. At the same time, cadres must be taught to serve the people unconditionally, to not be dictatorial, arbitrary or aloof from the masses and to combat corruption, waste and actions that violate the interests of the state and the legitimate interests of the people.

4. In increasing the effectiveness of the state, one important measure to which attention must be given is to more closely inspect the activities of state agencies to insure that the management of the country is being carried out well, fully complies with policies and laws and yields good results. In the period that lies ahead, the state must direct its attention to establishing and strengthening state control agencies on all levels and appoint to these agencies competent, well respected cadres who possess good personal qualities in order to insure that control work is properly performed, that control work assists in correcting the mistakes and shortcomings in the management activities of the state and in insuring that this management conforms with policies and laws. It is necessary to establish and strengthen an inspection apparatus that encompasses the activities of the state control system, inspections by the party, supervision by the mass organizations and inspections by the people's control organizations set up by the masses on the basic level.

This year, along with commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the people of the Lao tribes look forward with feelings of joy to National Day, 2 December, and the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. With renewed inspiration and under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the people of the Lao tribes are determined to make every



effort to build and strengthen their state with a view toward recording increasingly large achievements, determined to stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal people's of Vietnam and Cambodia, determined to steadily advance their beloved country to socialism.

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## INTENSIFYING THE MANAGEMENT OF THE MARKET, COMBATING SPECULATION AND BLACK MARKETING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 15-19, 42

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Recently, in keeping with the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the state issued new money and exchanged it for old money and enacted the new wage policy while adjusting state prices. Under the improved price-wage-money policies, the economic management system is gradually being reshaped. These are actions that conform with laws and have the support of the masses. However, to protect and fully develop upon the positive impact of these new policies in dismantling bureaucratic centralism and subsidization within economic management with the aims of stimulating the development of production, stabilizing the economic situation and stabilizing the standard of living, it is of primary importance now that we closely manage the market in order to maintain the new price scale, strengthen the purchasing power of the dong and protect the real wages of state workers and civil servants.

To manage the market and prices, the state must continue to intensify the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce under the guideline "combining transformation with construction, with primary emphasis upon construction." It must restructure production, transform and restructure the market, transform private commerce by product sector, strengthen the forces of socialist commerce and take determined steps to combat speculation, black marketing, the manufacture of fake goods and illegal businesses.

After the South was liberated, our state immediately abolished the compradore bourgeoisie, thereby essentially abolishing the long standing monopoly of the economy of the South by ethnic Chinese bourgeoisie and winning our independence. Since then, our state has thwarted each cunning scheme of the enemy and protected our country's independence, sovereignty and socialism. At the same time, it has carried out the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce by suitable methods, reorganized and transformed private commerce, shifted small merchants to production and introduced them to the collective way of earning a living. However, the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce have not been carried out thoroughly or continuously. In 1979, after discovering a number of shortcomings in

transformation, we failed to promptly review our experience in order to perform this work better. In addition, we relaxed our efforts in the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and the management of the market for a period of time, thus allowing the bourgeoisie to re-establish itself and develop in both zones of the country, allowing spontaneous capitalist forces to freely operate and allowing the enemy to take advantage of these weaknesses and oppose and attack us on many fronts, thus disrupting socio-economic order. Some bourgeoisie and dishonest merchants opposed our state by every imaginable cunning and sophisticated trick: they conspired with degenerate and deviant elements among state cadres and personnel to steal goods and materials from the state, engaged in speculation and black marketing and made themselves wealthy on the sweat of the working people.

In recent years, to rectify these shortcomings, the state has taken many positive measures, has combined economic, administrative and educational measures to strengthen the management of the market and combat speculation and black marketing. Thousands of cases involving black marketing activities have been prosecuted. Goods worth millions of dong (old money) and many valuable supplies and raw materials have been confiscated. However, speculation, black marketing, the manufacture and sale of fake goods and illegal businesses continue at many places, especially in the major cities, causing much harm to social life and to the maintenance of order and security. One factor of special concern that has emerged since the money exchange is that speculators and black marketers have been using the new price, wage and money policies to sabotage our country's economy. In a frenzy of activity, they have attacked the position of socialism, spread damaging rumors and made every effort to get their hands on goods and cash. In particular, they have been going around buying up essential goods, thereby pushing up prices on the market, undermining the state's policy on the circulation of goods and money, disrupting the market and creating a psychology of instability among the people.

Therefore, in view of the current situation, the struggle against speculation and black marketing has become a matter of very pressing importance. Speculators and black marketers have shown themselves to be economic saboteurs, saboteurs of our efforts to build the country. As Lenin once said: "They are our 'internal' enemies, enemies fighting the economic measures of the soviet administration." (1)

Consequently, the central, immediate, emergency task in market management is to wage a determined struggle against saboteurs and black marketers to remove all negative phenomena from the market, safeguard the newly enacted price, wage and money policies, stabilize the economic situation and standard of living, establish a new economic order and build momentum for the normal development and advance of the economy.

The lesson of recent years is: to manage the market well, we must combat speculation and black marketing.

The struggle against speculation and black marketing is exceedingly complex because it involves many sectors, many agencies and many fields and demands

that such sectors as the public security sector, the courts, the inspection and control sectors, the army, the finance sector, the commerce sector and so forth, truly operate under a unified state command. The proletarian dictatorship administration must use its combined strength to severely punish them, especially their leaders, imposing upon them not only criminal penalties, but also very heavy economic penalties. Black marketers, persons who make fake goods and persons who steal state property together with degenerate and deviant elements within state agencies must be brought out into the light so that they can be promptly and very harshly prosecuted under state law.

To perform this work well, it is first of all necessary to intensify our efforts to build pure, solid and strong party organizations within the agencies of the state so that these agencies truly become the activists of the socialist state. Strong emphasis must be placed upon education and management within state agencies, with the aim of combating negative phenomena within the state apparatus, in order to strengthen our internal management and suppress professional speculators and black marketers. In addition, this work must be closely tied to protecting socialist property, protecting the party and protecting the proletarian dictatorship administration. Only by performing this work well can we combat the tactics that the enemy and dishonest merchants employ to persuade cadres to conspire with them and supply them with materials and goods so that they can engage in speculation and black marketing. This is a very important measure in eliminating speculation and black marketing on the market at their source.

In this work, it is necessary to vigorously build upon the collective ownership role of the mass organizations and people's control organizations, necessary to rely upon the masses on the basic level to uncover and promptly prosecute violations of the law.

To manage the market and combat speculation and black marketing well, we must not only employ administrative and educational measures, but also must apply economic measures very well. In particular, we must strongly develop socialist commerce, successfully organize the efforts to control goods and money and dominant the market. These must be considered the decisive prerequisites to eradicating speculation and black marketing, stabilizing market prices and firmly maintaining socialist economic order.

In the period that lies ahead, all sectors of state-operated commerce must grow stronger, gain control over the market and fulfill their function of providing administrative management in the field of commerce of the trade activities of the various commerce organizations on the domestic market. Every commerce activity on the market must be registered, licensed and comply with the laws and regulations of the state. All agencies, enterprises and social organizations that do not have a business function are prohibited from engaging in trade. Competition among commerce organizations in procurements and sales must be brought to an end.

On this basis, the state must restore socialist order in the market and manage the circulation of goods in accordance with a unified line and policy. Most importantly, it must immediately establish the state's unified management of

and monopoly in the business in grain and primary agricultural products by means of a rational procurement price policy and procurement methods. It must implement a one procurement price mechanism (with regional differentials and seasonal adjustments) based on negotiations between the state and farmers. Through economic contracts, the state must control practically all commodity grain and the vast majority of the other primary agricultural products.

The commerce sector must consider controlling goods to be the most important task of commerce because only by controlling the sources of goods is it possible to take the initiative on the market, promptly meet the needs of production, combat and everyday life, expand trade relations between the cities and the countryside, between industry and agriculture, and strengthen the economic power of the state with the aim of winning victory in the struggle between socialism and capitalism on the distribution-circulation front.

To show that they have a thorough understanding of the viewpoints presented above, commerce units, from the central to the local and basic units, instead of sitting and waiting for goods to be supplied to them, must, in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, take dynamic steps to correctly apply leverage policies and procurement measures that involve rational prices in order to develop each potential and strength of the economy for the purpose of increasing the supply of goods to socialist commerce. In the development of sources of goods, importance must be attached to developing local potentials. We are still overlooking very many sources of goods, from agricultural and food products to industrial goods, that are produced within the locality and sources of non-commercial imports obtained through lawful channels within the localities. The development of local sources of goods will enable us to overcome the difficulties being experienced with fuel and means of transportation and provide us with sufficient goods to meet needs while opening diverse sources of raw materials and goods for exportation and for use in the establishment of economic ties with other localities.

In the present situation, in view of the facts that the home trade sector does not control all products or goods, efforts to control goods through procurements are still weak and do not correspond to the results of production and many of society's goods still circulate on the unorganized market, the issue of the state controlling goods must be addressed in a very urgent and positive manner. This demands that the combined economic sectors and the agencies that manage the production and circulation of consumer goods be in high agreement with this policy and take every possible step to concentrate a high percentage of each type consumer product in the hands of socialist commerce in accordance with the state plan and under contracts with commerce. It also demands that production units sell all of their high quality products and goods to the commerce sector. These are the minimum prerequisites that must exist in order for socialist commerce to operate normally and fulfill its function as the rear service force of production and everyday life. As for itself, the commerce sector must do a good job in the area of procurements; quickly shift away from the subsidization and authoritarian approach of past years in its procurement methods; seriously implement plan norms and the economic contracts it signs; and begin planning the circulation of goods on

the basis of correctly calculating needs, balancing supply sources and adjusting the distribution of goods with the aim of insuring that the state's distribution policy is applied in a fair and rational way to everyone against the background of continuing shortages. In the immediate future, the commerce sector must, through the periodic material and product inventories taken at the end of the quarter and the inventory taken of goods whose prices have been changed, determine the quantity, types, quality and value of all the goods on hand at the units of state-operated commerce, collective commerce and transformed commerce (cooperative businesses, joint businesses and agents). On the other hand, it must analyze the new factors in the demand for consumer goods within each area and draw up new supply-demand balance sheets for the entire country and for each area, beginning with important, essential goods in production and everyday life. On this basis, the commerce sector must immediately take truly positive and concrete measures to increase the supply of goods in order to meet immediate needs and establish reserve inventories.

To perform the above mentioned task well, it is necessary to build the forces of socialist commerce under the guidelines of dismantling bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and shifting to economic accounting and socialist business practices in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee.

Most importantly, it is necessary to strengthen the wholesale corporations on the central level so that they are able to completely control the sources of goods circulated throughout the country, establish a state monopoly in wholesale sales and perform their task of supplying the retail corporations by directly delivering the goods they receive to retail corporations so that the movement of goods is as direct as possible and not obstructed by administrative echelons.

Marketing cooperatives must be strengthened, beginning with village and subward marketing cooperatives, so that they can fulfill their task of selling retail consumer goods directly to farmers, teachers, manual workers and retired civil servants within the village and meet the needs for services while also fulfilling their task of procuring from farmers products that they need to sell, thereby severing the ties between farmers and private merchants and establishing direct economic relations between the state and farmers and the organizations of the socialist collective economy in the countryside. Marketing cooperatives must be established in all villages and the marketing and service network of these cooperatives must be extended into the hamlets. The primary area of operation of the marketing cooperatives must be the villages and subwards and their objective must be to support production and the daily lives of the working people within the village and subward. Additional competent cadres who possess good personal qualities must be assigned to marketing cooperatives so that they are managed well and their operations develop in the right direction and in a way that yields high economic returns.

On the basis of controlling the sources of agricultural products and industrial goods, state-operated commerce and the marketing cooperatives must organize retail sales well and bring to an immediate end the interruption in trade that occurred after the money exchange. Retail units must expand their



network; improve and upgrade their professional techniques and style of service; insure that goods are sold to the right customer; provide customers with convenient and courteous service; combat speculation of all forms; strictly comply with the retail price policy of the state and not take it upon themselves to change prices; continue to provide good public food services and expand their other service activities with a view toward providing customers with high quality support at fair prices and effectively leading the attack on the private services.

To insure that the above mentioned tasks are performed well, the socialist commerce sector must strengthen its material-technical bases with the aim of putting a new face on socialist commerce and meeting business needs. These steps must be taken in conjunction with educating and training a force of commerce workers who fully possess the virtues of "frugality, honesty and fairness" and are always working to develop better business skills, make commerce more civilized and support production and the daily lives of the people well.

The socialist transformation of private commerce must be intensified even more in order to manage the market in a way that is well coordinated and uniform nationwide. The bourgeoisie must be immediately removed from commerce. They must be considered the target of the class struggle on the commerce front. Removing the bourgeoisie from commerce means abolishing the capitalist mode of business in our country; eliminating their activities in wholesale trade and the competition with the state in procurements and sales; eliminating their speculation, hoarding and undermining of market prices; ridding ourselves of their exploitative nature; and reeducating them as workers.

Small-scale, decentralized production still occupies an important position within our country's economy today. Consequently, the "free" market continues to exist to a certain degree. This is an objective necessity. The task of the socialist state is to know how to organize and guide the development of the free market in a direction that is wholesome: it is a market outside the plan that supplements the planned market, a market that can only consist of small merchants who are licensed to do business under state management. To achieve these ends, in addition to removing the bourgeoisie from commerce and ridding ourselves of speculators, black marketers and so forth, we must reorganize small merchants in a way that decreases their numbers by shifting some to production, beginning with those persons who only recently went into trade and persons who are able to shift to production, or by shifting them into service activities of state commerce. The state cannot allow small merchants to freely buy and sell those products in which the state does business exclusively. Rather, it must utilize these small merchants as retail agents and consignment agents or organize them in joint businesses within individual product sectors under the guidance of state-operated commerce. The state must permit them to do business in other products whose circulation is encouraged by the state but must require that these small merchants have business licenses, that they do business in the products for which they are licensed, that they fully comply with state policies and laws concerning market management, such as paying taxes, posting prices, selling products at posted prices and so forth, and that they strictly comply with state price discipline. The state must organize units to inspect and control compliance

with state laws on the market and must place these units under the guidance and management of the committees for the guidance of the transformation and management of the market on the various levels. These inspection units, together with the people's control forces and the various sectors and mass organizations, must thoroughly inspect the posting of prices and the sale of products at posted prices by all organizations and individuals doing business in commerce (including organizations within socialist commerce). At the same time, they must work with other forces to stop and eliminate speculation, black marketing, the manufacture and sale of fake goods and illegal businesses.

Of importance at this time in insuring that we succeed in transforming private commerce and managing the market is the need to quickly deal with the outdoor market economy because the existence of outdoor markets has a very large impact upon production and the daily lives of the people. The outdoor markets are places where many different types of products are marketed via the business mechanism under which the outdoor markets operate, a mechanism characterized by "convenient shopping, clear prices" and controlled by the law of supply and demand. Over the years, the state has only established administrative management of the outdoor markets. However, the essential element of management, the economic management of the outdoor markets, has not been given appropriate attention. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out, by suitable methods and under the leadership of state-operated commerce and the inspection and control of responsible organizations, the transformation, reorganization and education of the small merchants at outdoor markets and gradually bring them within the sphere of the socialist economy. These steps must be taken in a way that avoids relaxing our management of the activities at the outdoor markets. At the same time, we must also avoid transforming and reorganizing these merchants by rigid approaches that do not take into consideration the "convenient shopping, clear prices" aspect of these markets and would cause them to lose their flexibility, mobility and convenience.

Intensifying the socialist transformation of private commerce through the application of suitable models, transforming and restructuring the market and combating speculation and black marketing will create the conditions for socialist commerce to develop strongly, control goods and money and dominate the market. These two efforts must be closely coordinated, must augment each other and neither can be given light attention if we are to achieve the ultimate objectives of managing the market well, stabilizing the price situation and restoring socialist order on the distribution-circulation front.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Book II, Part II, p 489.

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: GENERAL SECRETARY LE DUAN VISITS THE STAFF  
OF 'COMMUNIST REVIEW'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 20-22

[Article by the Vietnam News Agency]

[Text] Recently, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW [TAP CHI CONG SAN]--the theoretical and political organ of the Communist Party of Vietnam--Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, visited with and addressed the review's Editorial Board.

Hong Chuong, editor-in-chief of COMMUNIST REVIEW, and the members of the Editorial Board together with a large number of the review's cadres, contributors and comrades in charge of the party's ideological and press activities gave the esteemed general secretary a very enthusiastic and warm welcome. [Photograph of Le Duan addressing this gathering appears here in text]

In his cordial and candid remarks, the general secretary touched upon many matters of theory and practice concerning Vietnam's revolution.

Since the birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam, our country's revolution has won one great victory after another. These have been the victories of Marxism-Leninism within a country that was once a semi-feudal colony, a country that is advancing from small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Throughout the course of leading the revolution, the party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to correctly solve the problems raised by the realities of the revolution, thereby making worthy contributions to the development of the body of theory of the most revolutionary, most scientific doctrine of our times. By introducing Marxism-Leninism to the broad masses, the party awakened and cultivated our people's traditional spirit of being the masters of their lives and turned this spirit into a force of enormous strength in order to seize political power, win victory over the most aggressive of enemies in two consecutive wars of resistance and, today, build socialism nationwide. The party's line of firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat and establishing the system of collective ownership of the working people by simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, in which the scientific-

technological revolution is the key revolution and socialist industrialization is the central task, has been proven correct by the realities of socialist construction over the past 10 years. [Photograph of audience applauding Le Duan appears here in text] The most recent resolutions of the party, the resolutions of the 6th, 7th and 8th Plenums of the Central Committee, have set guidelines for dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, improving every aspect of socio-economic management and implementing democratic centralism based on the plan being the center of operations and on economic accounting and socialist business practices. These steps also have the aims of tapping the strength of ownership, the dynamism and the creativity of all sectors, localities and basic units in the effort to solve the pressing problems of production and everyday life and gradually achieve the exercise of ownership in everything from production to distribution and circulation on all three levels: the central level, the local level and the basic level. With regard to economic construction, in particular, and building the system of socialist collective ownership, in general, the general secretary placed special emphasis upon the need to focus efforts on making the more than 400 districts and the 4 major municipalities of our country solid and strong while also making the economic-technical sectors solid and strong.

The general secretary advised those who work in the fields of information and theory that they must fully adhere to the line of the party and, through their intellect and practical creative labor, help to enrich revolutionary theory and instill the line and policies of the party in the broad laboring masses so that they become spirited revolutionary mass movements to successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of building and defending the socialist fatherland. [Photograph of Le Duan (seated at table) and Hong Chuong (standing to right of table) appears here in text]

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: CHAIRMAN TRUONG CHINH RECEIVES THE  
EDITORIAL BOARD OF 'COMMUNIST REVIEW'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 p 23

[Article by the Vietnam News Agency]

[Text] Recently, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW (1955-1985), Truong Chinh, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of State, received a delegation from the Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW headed by Hong Chuong, editor-in-chief.

Chairman Truong Chinh praised the Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW for their many efforts and splendid achievements in applying Marxism-Leninism and propagandizing the lines and policies of the party and state. He thoughtfully reminded the Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW to further heighten the ideological, militant and topical nature of the articles published in the review. [Photograph of Truong Chinh seated at a table flanked on his left by Hong Chuong and two unidentified members of the Editorial Board appears here in text]

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: THE COUNCIL OF STATE AWARDS THE ORDER OF HO  
CHI MINH TO 'COMMUNIST REVIEW'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 p 24

[Text]

Council of State

No 788-KT/HDNN 7  
The Socialist Republic of Vietnam  
INDEPENDENCE-FREEDOM-HAPPINESS

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

on the basis of Article 100 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of  
Vietnam,

and at the suggestion of the Council of Ministers,

hereby decides

To award the Order of Ho Chi Minh to COMMUNIST REVIEW for the many  
contributions that it has made during the past 30 years in teaching Marxism-  
Leninism and propagandizing the lines and policies of the party to cadres and  
the people.

Hanoi, 28 November 1985

Council of State

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Chairman: Truong Chinh

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: LETTER FROM COUNCIL OF STATE CHAIRMAN TRUONG CHINH TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF 'COMMUNIST REVIEW'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 25-26

[Text]

Hanoi, 3 December 1985

Dear Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW,

On the occasion of the celebration of the 30 anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW, I affectionately extend to the cadres, personnel, editors, contributors and reporters of COMMUNIST REVIEW my warm regards and heartfelt congratulations.

During the past 30 years, under the close leadership of the Party Central Committee, COMMUNIST REVIEW has endeavored to combine Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Vietnamese revolution in order to fully propagandize the lines, guidelines and policies of our party and state. The review has contributed to raising the theoretical and political standards of cadres and party members and has been a driving force behind revolutionary action movements of the masses. The mass of cadres in and outside the party consider the review to be a reliable source of materials for studying and researching the lines, policies and views of our party and state. COMMUNIST REVIEW is worthy of being the theoretical banner of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Dear comrades,

At present, our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people are making every effort to carry out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. COMMUNIST REVIEW has the task of guiding the application of theory and the activities carried out in the performance of these two tasks, especially the socio-economic task, thereby contributing to preparations for the party's 6th National Congress.

The esteemed Uncle Ho taught: "Practice that is not guided by theory is blind practice. Theory that is not closely connected to practice is empty theory." It is my hope that COMMUNIST REVIEW will remember this teaching of Uncle Ho and more closely combine Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Vietnamese revolution in order to shed light on the issues of our country's

revolution in the period of transition to socialism, especially in the initial stage of this period, and propagandize the lines, policies and views of our party and state in a thorough and systematic manner.

To fulfill their task in the new stage of the revolution, the cadres, personnel, editors, contributors and reporters of COMMUNIST REVIEW must redouble their efforts to learn Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party and state, cultivate revolutionary qualities and virtues, improve their research and editing skills, keep abreast of practice and maintain close ties with the masses.

I wish you many larger achievements in improving the quality of COMMUNIST REVIEW and insuring that the review vigorously builds upon its role as an effective tool of the party on the front of theory and ideology.

I affectionately extend to you my communist greetings.

Truong Chinh

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: CEREMONY HELD TO CELEBRATE THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF 'COMMUNIST REVIEW' AND AWARD TO THE REVIEW THE ORDER OF HO CHI MINH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 27-28

[Unattributed article]

[Text] On the morning of 3 December, at the Hanoi Press Center, a formal ceremony was held to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW--the theoretical and political organ of the party--and award the highest order of the party and state--the Order of Ho Chi Minh--to the review.

Attending the ceremony were Hoang Tung, secretary of the Party Central Committee; many members of the Party Central Committee and chairmen and vice chairmen of the departments of the Party Central Committee; ministers, vice ministers and the leaders of a number of sectors and mass organizations; and representatives of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee and People's Committee. Also in attendance were veteran cadres of the review and a large number of contributors who have written articles for the review over the past 30 years. [Photograph of Hong Chuong and Hoang Tung holding the Order of Ho Chi Minh appears here in the text]

Addressing the ceremony on behalf of the review's Editorial Board, Hong Chuong, editor-in-chief, reviewed the history of the review since the publication of its first issue--as the review STUDIES [TAP CHI HOC TAP]--in December 1955.

Then, Dao Duy Tung, member of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Department of Propaganda and Training of the Central Committee, formally read the letter sent by Council of State Chairman Truong Chinh, the first editor-in-chief of COMMUNIST REVIEW, to the Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the review's publication and read the decision of the Council of State to award the Order of Ho Chi Minh to the review.

On behalf of the party and state, Hoang Tung, secretary of the Party Central Committee, formally awarded the Order of Ho Chi Minh to COMMUNIST REVIEW.

Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Party Central Committee, unable to attend the ceremony, sent a letter and the text of his speech to the Editorial Board of Communist Review. Hoang Tung read the text of Vo Chi Cong's speech.

In his own speech at the ceremony, Hoang Tung deeply analyzed the reasons underlying the achievements and contributions of COMMUNIST REVIEW as well as the other theoretical research organs of our party. He also presented the guidelines and tasks of COMMUNIST REVIEW in the period that lies ahead.

At the ceremony, Senior General Hoang Van Thai, member of the Party Central Committee; Nguyen Thi Nhu, member of the Party Central Committee and vice chairwoman of the Vietnam Women's Union; Vu Mao, member of the Party Central Committee and 1st secretary of the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union; Tran Tan, alternate member of the Party Central Committee and deputy secretary of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee; and Vu Xuan Can, member of the Secretariat of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions, congratulated the review on its contributions and offered the review constructive opinions with a view toward insuring that COMMUNIST REVIEW is always worthy of being "the theoretical banner of the Communist Party of Vietnam."

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: SPEECH BY VO CHI CONG

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 29-30

[Speech by Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the  
Party Central Committee]

[Text] [Photograph portrait of Vo Chi Cong appears here in text]

Dear comrades,

Today, It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Political Bureau and the Party Secretariat, to extend to you our congratulations on this the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW, the theoretical and political organ of the party. Our party has always attached very much importance to theoretical work. Immediately after the North was completely liberated, the 7th Plenum of the Party Central Committee decided to publish a theoretical journal to assist in policy research and the teaching of ideology and begin to systematically develop the theoretical work of the party as permitted by conditions. Following the 4th Congress of the Party, the Political Bureau decided to change the name of the organ from STUDIES to COMMUNIST REVIEW.

During the past 30 years, the theoretical review of the party has thoroughly understood and correctly presented the lines, policies and views of the party, thus helping to raise the political and ideological standards of cadres in and outside the party, build unity and consensus within the party on the basis of its political line and give impetus to revolutionary action movements of the masses.

The reasons why these achievements have been recorded are the following: the review has been closely led by the Party Central Committee. The party organizations of all sectors and levels have concerned themselves with developing the review, have helped the review gain an understanding of the situation and have supplied materials to and written articles for the review. The contributors and information workers of the review as well as the cadres and personnel of the Editorial Board have worked hard, overcome every difficulty and made every effort to steadily improve the quality of their research and editing and do a good job of editing and publishing the review. Printing plant workers have worked with selfless dedication. The press

distribution personnel of the posts and telecommunications sector have diligently worked to distribute the review. Readers nationwide have wholeheartedly welcomed and supported the review.

On behalf of the party and state, I wholeheartedly commend the review for the outstanding achievements that it has recorded over the past 30 years. I praise the Editorial Board, editors, contributors and reporters of the review for the many efforts they have made in researching, editing and publishing the review; printing plant workers who have worked hard around-the-clock to print the review and make sure it appears on schedule; and distribution personnel of the posts and telecommunication sectors who have travelled to all regions of the country, on the frontlines as well as in the rear, to deliver the review to cadres, party members and the masses. You have a right to be proud of the tremendous achievements that the review has recorded during the past 30 years and the contributions that each person had made to these common achievements.

Dear comrades,

At present, the people of our entire country are carrying out two strategic tasks: building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. The tasks of COMMUNIST REVIEW at this point in time are to apply Marxism-Leninism in order to provide theoretical guidance concerning the performance of the two strategic tasks set by the party, especially the performance of socio-economic tasks, and contribute to preparations for the 6th Congress of the Party on the basis of summarizing the practice of our country's revolution.

To complete the tasks of the review in the new stage of the revolution, the cadres, workers and personnel of the Editorial Board and the contributors and reporters of the review must redouble their efforts to learn the theory and lines of the party, constantly raise their political standards, cultivate revolutionary and professional qualities and virtues, keep abreast of life and maintain close contact with the masses. Practice is the standard of truth. Only by keeping abreast of practice, by going down to the basic units of the masses is it possible to see all the new and creative factors that have emerged. Conversely, through practice, we will augment the dynamic and steady development of theory.

COMMUNIST REVIEW is the party's review. The party organizations of the entire country have the duty of helping to develop the party's review. All levels and sectors must fully concern themselves with developing the party's review by reviewing their own work, drawing conclusions of a theoretical and scientific nature from it and writing articles for the review.

All of the fundamental views of the party and its major lines and policies are presented in the review. The various levels and sectors must make good use of the review by organizing and guiding the reading of the review in order to widely disseminate the views, lines and policies of the party among cadres, party members and the masses so that everyone has a clear understanding of the party's views and makes every effort to implement its lines and policies.

Dear comrades,

Our party and state have a high assessment of the contributions made by the party's corps of theoretical cadres and by the party's theoretical review to the revolutionary cause of our people. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of the party's theoretical review, the party and state have decided to award the Order of Ho Chi Minh to COMMUNIST REVIEW.

The awarding of the Order of Ho Chi Minh to COMMUNIST REVIEW is both an affirmation of the large contributions made by COMMUNIST REVIEW to the revolutionary cause of the party and a reminder to you to always brandish the banner of the great Uncle Ho, make every effort to learn the thinking, ethics and style of Uncle Ho and work very hard to improve the quality of the review so that COMMUNIST REVIEW is always worthy of being the theoretical banner of the glorious Communist Party of Vietnam.

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: CLOSELY LINKING THEORY TO PRACTICE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 31-36

[Speech by Hoang Tung, secretary of the Party Central Committee]

[Text] [Photograph of Hoang Tung at rostrum appears here in text]

Hong Chuong comprehensively summarized the work of COMMUNIST REVIEW over the past 30 years and pointed out the achievements as well as the shortcomings and weaknesses of the review.

In a short letter, Truong Chinh confirmed the large achievements that have been recorded by COMMUNIST REVIEW and the valuable contributions it has made to the revolutionary cause and theory of our party. At the same time, he also pointed out the tasks of the review in the new stage. He reminded us of the teaching of the esteemed Uncle Ho: "Practice that is not guided by theory is blind practice. Theory that is not linked to practice is empty theory."

On behalf of the Political Bureau and Secretariat, Vo Chi Cong also praised the achievements and contributions of COMMUNIST REVIEW and pointed out the new tasks of the review. These tasks are closely tied to the new stage of the revolution, to preparations for the party's 6th National Congress.

A number of representatives of various sectors and localities, speaking as a leader or as a contributor or reader of the review, have analyzed the review's achievements and pointed out its shortcomings and weaknesses. They also placed "orders for products" with the review, fair "orders." The issues they have raised show that even though COMMUNIST REVIEW has done its very best, it is clear that there are still many matters that have not been properly addressed. Thus, the review still owes a "debt" to the revolution in some rather important areas.

COMMUNIST REVIEW is the first organ of speech, the first organ of the press, the first information organ in our country to be awarded the order that bears the name of the great Uncle Ho. Other organs of speech, information, propaganda and education of the party have been in existence longer than the review and have made equally outstanding contributions but have not been awarded this order. I feel certain that the leaders of our party and state wanted to give this singular honor to the theoretical organ of the party.

Progressive theory is the prerequisite to a revolutionary movement. In my opinion, the honor that has been bestowed upon COMMUNIST REVIEW is deserving and fitting. Our colleagues who are gathered here today and all those persons who are engaged in theoretical work, in information work or the work of the press are not undeserving of wholehearted praise because their organizations are second in line to be honored. I feel certain that other organs of speech and information will also be awarded the Order of Ho Chi Minh in the near future.

On the occasion of this grand celebration and especially on the occasion of COMMUNIST REVIEW having the high honor of receiving the distinguished award of our party and state--the Order of Ho Chi Minh--we must see where the origins of the contributions and achievements of COMMUNIST REVIEW lie? They lie with Ho Chi Minh. They began with Ho Chi Minh. Because, it was he who spread the only correct revolutionary doctrine of our times to our country. As Marx said, once theory permeates the masses, it becomes an enormous material force. Our Uncle Ho spread the doctrine of revolution to our country and organized the heroic revolutionary struggle of our nation, of our country's revolutionary armed forces, a struggle that has led to important historic victories and changed the entire face of our country and society. The origins of the theoretical achievements of COMMUNIST REVIEW as well as the theoretical achievements of the other organs of theoretical and scientific research are the revolutionary achievements, the theoretical achievements of the Communist Party of Vietnam, of the Vietnamese revolution. Our party has often said that the victories of the Vietnamese revolution are the victories of Marxism-Leninism in our country, that is, the victories of the doctrine of revolution in Vietnam. This is also an affirmation of an exceedingly important guideline in our theoretical and scientific work, namely, the close link between theory and practice, between the theoretical and the practical.

In every stage of history, the Communist Party of Vietnam founded and led by President Ho has been a party with the ability to closely link theory to practice. There was never one period, never one task in which Uncle Ho and the other leaders of our party failed to closely link theory to practice. As a result, the advance of the revolution to victory was continuous. In my opinion, after Uncle Ho, the second person who most typified the communist, a person who truly reflected Ho Chi Minh's style of closely linking theory to practice, even though his active life was very short, was Ngo Gia Tu. Ngo Gia Tu was one of the organizers of the first communist party in our country in Hanoi. While still very young, he applied the thinking of scientific socialism, the revolutionary thinking of the working class to the practical issues of the struggle for national liberation and class liberation and to the issues of the Vietnamese revolution. In the years since then, many other leaders of the party, such as Tran Phu, Le Duan and Truong Chinh, and many other comrades have always linked theory to practice to correctly and promptly resolve the issues of the Vietnamese revolution. They have addressed these issues not only from the perspective of the status of Vietnam's struggle, but also from the perspective of how these issues relate to the world situation. Our own esteemed Uncle Ho stated back in the early years of the 1920's that, in the present age, following the victory of the Russian October Revolution, the national liberation struggle of oppressed nations can only win victory when it is closely tied to the world proletarian revolution and is a part of

this revolution. This was the thinking of Lenin but it was Uncle Ho who concretized this thinking for us. And, it was also Uncle Ho who, in the 1920's, correctly defined the peasant issue and the role of peasants and farmers in the national democratic revolution. Adhering to Lenin's teachings on the colonial revolution, he said that the communists of the East must solve the problems left behind by medieval systems. [Photograph of Hoang Tung, at rostrum, and audience being addressed appears here in text]

In COMMUNIST REVIEW as well as theoretical work, in general, we still see a certain gap between theory and practice. It can be said that this is a problem which communists, which Marxist-Leninists constantly encounter and have never completely resolved. It might not even be completely resolved in the future. Who dares to say that theoretical work never lags behind practice, that there is no gap between theory and practice? Progressive theory is the prerequisite to a revolutionary movement. This is a truth. However, another factor is at work here: life is constantly moving and developing; therefore, there is always a gap between theory and practice. You no doubt know that a new category is now being added to the categories of philosophy: the category of "theory and practice." This category can even be called a law because it is repeated over and over again in the processes of the development of the relationships between theory and practice, between man's recognition and the living practice of life. The process by which mankind recognizes the objective world is a continuous, gradual process. At the same time, the objective world is constantly developing and changing.

The working class and laboring people recognize and accept revolutionary science, the scientific world view of Marxism, dialectical materialism and historical materialism. These have become militant forces and forces in transforming the world. Marx said that his doctrine not only explains the world, but also has the purpose of transforming it. Practice is continuously moving and changing. There is always something of a gap between theory and practice.

In 1975, following our victory in the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our country entered the new stage of the revolution. However, we have yet to recognize all the changes this stage entails. Ordinarily, when a new process of the revolution begins, especially at important turning points marked by sudden qualitative changes, recognition of what is occurring lags behind. A certain amount of time is needed to recognize the changes that have occurred in practice. COMMUNIST REVIEW, as well as the persons who are engaged in the theoretical work of our party, stand before a new stage but do not fully understand the laws that govern the development of this stage. Our party has made enormous contributions to the body of Marxist-Leninist theory on the national liberation revolution and national liberation wars, on military science and military art, on mass uprisings and revolutionary war... Many revolutionaries from the countries of North and South America, Africa...have come to Vietnam to study and draw from our experience. They have said that the experiences of the Vietnamese revolution are truly extensive, are a valuable treasure house of experience. Without our party's rich creativity, we could not have written theoretical articles of scientific value.

In the present stage, we must continue to constantly give thought to and seek every suitable way to narrow the gap between theory and practice so that theory is not dry or rigid, not divorced from real life, which is undergoing profound changes. Countless problems face a country as it turns its efforts to socialist construction, we are building a new system, a new economy, a new culture and molding the new man. These are issues that were not faced 55 years ago. The issue of paramount importance is to build and defend the fatherland. In defending the fatherland, we face the problem of dealing with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the problem of the common struggle of the socialist countries and revolutionary nations against the threat of a new world war, of preparing to deal with a new world war, be it a nuclear war or a conventional war. Our fight is never our fight alone, just as Vietnam did not fight the United States only to liberate our country, but also to help give impetus to the cause of liberation of all nations and weaken U.S. imperialism, the largest force hostile to the world revolution in our times. Dialectical problems, such as the role of wars of liberation, as well as a host of new problems regarding the people's war to defend the fatherland have arisen and must be resolved. In addition, there are many other problems that must be addressed, such as: is a way of life a strength? Is culture a strength? How is culture related to national defense and revolutionary heroism? What is socialist patriotism? These are problems raised by life that we have yet to address. Surely, you who are on the staff of COMMUNIST REVIEW see that you are swimming in a new sea and that there are still deeper waters to explore. I mean by this that thousands, tens of thousands of problems face us.

Again, we return to the issue of collective mastery. The issue of workers being the collective masters was addressed by Marx and Engels. Today, the CPSU, in the Draft Resolution for its 27th Congress, has asserted that this is the paramount issue of Soviet society. Because, with each day that has passed, it has become increasingly clear that, following the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production and the liberation of the nation and society, man becomes the collective master of the country. The proletarian dictatorship and collective ownership coalesce and become a new strength, one never before seen by mankind because such a society never existed before.

Recently, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, said that a contradiction exists between production forces and production relations in the Soviet Union. According to him, that which has caused stagnation and prevented the production forces, the potentials of the economy, the potentials of man, of human intellect and the potentials of science from being fully developed is the economic system itself. Why is it that, in socialist society, although public ownership of the means of production has been established and culture and education have been very highly developed, the masses do not bring to their work the strong, intense enthusiasm that they would bring to a festival? Because, some aspects of the system are not right. In the new society, the development of each person is the prerequisite to the development of everyone. The "Communist Manifesto" was written nearly 150 years ago and we have nearly 70 years of practical experience in real socialism. However, practice continues to face socialism with a multitude of problems, problems which our theory still lags far behind.



One exceedingly complex, urgent and acute problem we face is the problem of prices--prices and value. What are value and prices? There is no shortage of classical works of Marxism-Leninism on this subject. Many famous theoreticians have discussed this matter at great length. However, how do these theories apply to specific prices in Vietnam, within Vietnamese society, in this initial stage? How do they apply to the price of rice, the price of steel, the price of meat? These are very concrete proof of the gap that exists between theory and practice. COMMUNIST REVIEW has written on the subject of prices but it, too, has sometimes only presented excerpts from books and not explained why the issue of prices is so intricate and complex. To not understand life is to not understand practice. If we do not understand the laws of value and prices, of use value and value or all the other issues concerning prices, finance and so forth, we cannot change the system. Recognizing those issues that are in the nature of laws of socialism in Vietnam is something that must be done by the Vietnamese themselves. No one else can do this for us. We can make thousands of trips and read thousands of books and still not correctly solve this problem. This is also a task that faces COMMUNIST REVIEW. If the review does not participate in resolving such problems, it will continue to face a formidable gap between theory and practice. Practical problems must be resolved in exact accordance with Marxist views. Such is theory. The staff of COMMUNIST REVIEW must go back and study Marx, Engels, Lenin and Ho Chi Minh again. At the same time, it must keep in touch with practice and participate in practical activities. Today, we cannot learn what business is all about if we do not go into enterprises, do not investigate the market. And if we do not, we cannot write theory. Go into the factories, visit stores, see how things are being managed, find out what is being done that conforms with Marxism and what is contradictory to our doctrine. Find out how the persons at these places are implementing the new management system and economic accounting in the face of shortages of supplies, raw materials and energy, changing prices and difficulties in the everyday life of the worker.

The more they control state power, the more Marxists and theoreticians run the risk of divorcing themselves from, not becoming closer to, the realities of life. This is also the opposite of what you would expect. However, this is a problem we can overcome. If the staff of COMMUNIST REVIEW can discover problems, can use and focus its intelligence, can bring theoreticians together and hold scientific exchanges, it will help us to come to grips with and resolve theoretical problems. No mind closed off by four walls can correctly deal with and resolve practical problems.

The fact that three-fourths of the articles carried in the review over the past 30 years were published by contributors and one-fourth were contributed by members of the Editorial Board speaks highly of the contributions made by contributors. These contributors are members of the Political Bureau or Secretariat and members of the Party Central Committee, from the general secretary to the leaders of levels, sectors and basic units.

In keeping with the character and tradition of the revolutionary press, COMMUNIST REVIEW must breathe the breath of life, must closely link theory to practice. If its activities are only of the style conducted at the clubs in

Russia at the turn of the century--which Lenin criticized--it cannot make any impact upon the process of revolutionary change.

The achievements of COMMUNIST REVIEW and the success of our party's theoretical work over the past several decades stem from the fact that we have combined theory with practice and solved the problems raised by practice in exact accordance with the theoretical views of Marxism-Leninism. Now that it has been awarded the Order of Ho Chi Minh, this distinguished award given the party's theoretical review by party leaders, and in order to be worthy of being the theoretical banner of the party, COMMUNIST REVIEW must clearly understand this matter and continue to consider this its guideline.

Thus, I have delivered here a commentary on that which Chairman Truong Chinh wanted to remind COMMUNIST REVIEW, namely, the need to always work to narrow the gap between theory and practice, to not fall victim to the malady of empty theory.

Once again, I congratulate COMMUNIST REVIEW on the large achievements that it has recorded and remind you that if you want to be awarded a second Order of Ho Chi Minh or a Gold Star Order, you must organize the theoretical activities of the review better so that the review is increasingly in touch with the practice of life, of man and society and with the realities of the problems being faced.

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IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: SPEECH BY SENIOR GENERAL HOANG VAN THAI

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 37-40

[Speech by Senior General Hoang Van Thai, member of the Party Central  
Committee]

[Text] [Photograph of Hoang Van Thai at rostrum appears here in text]  
Dear comrades,

As a member of the party and a contributor to the party's theoretical review,  
I am delighted to attend this large and cordial gathering being held on the  
occasion of the 30th anniversary of the birth of COMMUNIST REVIEW.

I would like to take this occasion to wholeheartedly congratulate COMMUNIST  
REVIEW for its successes and the enormous contributions it has made to the  
cause of revolution, to raising the grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory  
throughout the party and among all the people, in general, and within the  
People's Armed Forces, in particular. Through these achievements, COMMUNIST  
REVIEW has truly shown itself to be worthy of the distinguished award given it  
by our party and state--the Order of Ho Chi Minh.

Dear comrades,

Over the past several decades, the review, as STUDIES and as COMMUNIST REVIEW  
today, has always been a very valuable source of information to me, to all the  
party's cadres in the army. Through many of the commentaries carried in the  
review, we have gained a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of  
matters of theory and practice of the revolution and revolutionary war of  
Vietnam, of the national democratic revolution as well as the socialist  
revolution, particularly the economic line of the party and those matters that  
are in the nature of laws in our country's socialist construction.

Within the army, practically every party chapter subscribes to COMMUNIST  
REVIEW. The review is found in the libraries and on the bookshelves of all  
units. In addition to encouraging cadres and party members to regularly read  
the review, party chapters periodically organize the reading and study of

important articles as part of their party chapter activities. COMMUNIST REVIEW has helped to teach politics and ideology to troops engaged in construction as well as combat.

From time to time, at the request of the review and with the guidance and assistance of the review's Editorial Board, I have written a number of articles on the revolution and revolutionary war in our country that were published in the review, thereby making my own small contribution to the party's theoretical review. Many army cadres have also actively participated in writing articles for the review. Through them, we have also learned more about theory and practice, about scientific research as well as about how to guide our work.

Once again, I wholeheartedly congratulate COMMUNIST REVIEW on its successes and contributions and sincerely thank the Editorial Board and all members of the staff of COMMUNIST REVIEW.

I would like to take this occasion to express a few thoughts concerning the matter of thoroughly reflecting the military line, views and thinking of the party in COMMUNIST REVIEW.

1. In past years, the review carried many important commentaries on military affairs that made positive contributions in teaching and propagandizing the party's correct military line, the unique military art of the Vietnamese people's war, the fine character and tradition of the People's Armed Forces... These articles included articles on the experience gained in the national liberation war and articles that researched and guided efforts to strengthen the national defense system and defend the fatherland in the new stage of the revolution.

However, in my opinion, those articles were not commensurate with the requirements and special characteristics of our country's revolutionary tasks. As we know, in the resistance against the United States, our armed forces and people had to carry out two revolutionary strategies at the same time: the people's national democratic revolution in the South and the socialist revolution in the North. For 10 years, from 1965 to 1975, the entire country was at war, the resistance against the United States for national salvation was being waged by everyone. Today, our armed forces and people must again simultaneously perform two strategic tasks, building and defending the fatherland. These two tasks are closely interrelated and each is a task of very pressing importance. In the thinking of the party, we cannot give light attention to either task. Recently, I learned that the localities along the northern border have gained a deeper understanding of what is involved in combining these two strategic tasks. However, in the rear, not all localities or all agencies and sectors on the central level have a truly firm grasp of these two strategic tasks. In my opinion, COMMUNIST REVIEW must promptly make positive contributions to giving the entire party, all our armed forces and all the people, beginning with the proletarian dictatorship system, a thorough understanding of the party's position. It must display the high militancy of the revolutionary press and correct the mistakes among cadres and the people concerning this matter. I view this as a very important matter that can never be given light attention because it is related to the survival of the

fatherland, to the happiness of the people and because our nation has faced, is facing and will continue to face on a long-term basis, a cruel and cunning enemy, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, whose mainland, air space and seas abut ours. This is my thinking. I suggest that you examine it.

2. In the years ahead, bringing about a thorough understanding of the two strategic tasks of building and defending the fatherland and the close connection between these two strategic tasks will continue to pose a major problem, one that will demand clearer, deeper efforts that are solidly based in theory and practice, both from the standpoint of policies and the measures by which their implementation is organized, efforts on all levels, the central, local and basic levels, in all national defense-security, economic-technical and cultural-ideological sectors, within the party, within the proletarian dictatorship system and among the people, beginning with party committees, especially key leaders.

I suggest that the review carry a series of essays on the fundamental matters contained within the military line of the party in the period of building and defending the fatherland (only those, of course, that can be discussed publicly in order to uphold the principle of secrecy). Concerning this request, I offer you the following several examples:

First, there are the practical and theoretical matters concerning the national defense system of all the people, the most important of which is preparing the country in peace time for war. Specifically:

--Most important are the needs to prepare the country in terms of thinking and spirit and give everyone, through educational efforts, a clear understanding of their responsibility to defend the country, of the violent and intense nature of a future war so that everyone is prepared to make sacrifices, prepared to give their life in defense of their socialist fatherland and joins the army or serves as an officer in an entirely voluntarily and willing manner, considering this to be their historic mission. Many years of exceedingly difficult, arduous, decisive and complex struggle involving untold loss of life and bloodshed were required for us to seize political power and win and defend our independence, freedom and socialism. We positively must firmly protect these priceless revolutionary gains.

--We must prepare the economy, prepare the material-technical base of socialism and clearly show how important it is to build the economy, because only when the economy is strong can the national defense system be strong, only when we bring prosperity to the country can we make the national defense system strong. At the same time, we must know how to combine the economy with national defense: the deployment of the labor force nationwide and within each locality must meet the requirements of both the economy and national defense. Here, attention must be given to sending citizens into areas in which both production forces and combat forces must be redeployed. The deployment of industrial, agricultural and communications-transportation projects must take both economic and national defense requirements into consideration. The participation by troops in economic work must be designed to both improve their standard of living and accelerate the pace of economic development.

We must prepare for the mobilization of forces and build powerful, organized reserves. In view of the special characteristics of modern war, we cannot quickly mobilize large forces when a war breaks out if we do not adopt a mobilization plan in peace time. Only by making good preparations can we avoid being taken by surprise, avoid being confused.

The matters presented above are related to all levels of the party and state, to all sectors of the national economy, to all mass organizations... Consequently, they must be the subjects of thorough educational efforts and be given the form of state laws, of mass movements. Only in this way can the national defense system truly be a system of all the people.

Secondly, there is the matter of developing the people's armed forces into increasingly modern conventional forces under the conditions of Vietnam. We must always firmly adhere to the principle of building all three elements of the military. We must build widespread mass armed forces, with importance attached to the buildup of militia and self-defense as well as local forces, while maintaining our efforts to build conventional, modern and well trained main forces that include an adequate number of skilled cadres. The entire party and all the people must be made to clearly understand that only by building our forces well in peace time can our forces be strong enough to fulfill their role as the nucleus in the fight by all the people against the enemy when the enemy unleashes a war of aggression. Therefore, in the buildup of the armed forces, the buildup of the army, we must teach the spirit of being the master of the country to everyone and mobilize everyone's spirit of doing on one's own what one knows should be done. We must combat negative phenomena and overcome the problem of desertions. We must encourage our sons and daughters to eagerly join the army and to serve as officers. We must build the corps of future officers and these future officers must possess profound national awareness and class awareness. Here, it is most important that the Youth Union recognize its responsibility in this matter. We must attach importance to the army's rear area work and view it as an important factor in keeping the army in a constant state of readiness to fight and die for independence, freedom and socialism, for the tasks of the nation and its international obligation. We must also develop and refine the unique military science and art of Vietnam and Vietnam's ingenious methods of fighting.

Thirdly, we must research the laws of the war of the future and thoroughly research our enemy in that war, including their capabilities and fighting methods. On the basis of the party's military line, we must guide efforts to resolve problems of military science and art in a way that enables us to be steadfast and firm on the defensive and swift and effective in counter-attacks and attacks.

We must educate all cadres and members of the party so that they have a firm grasp of the military science and art of the people's war to defend the fatherland.

The Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee has issued Resolution Number 24 concerning the military line. Very regrettably, the various levels and sectors still do not have a deep understanding of this resolution. Soon, we definitely must take steps to insure that this resolution is deeply

understood, not only within the military sector, but also within all agencies of the party and state, all levels and sectors...in order to turn this correct resolution of the party into reality.

Finally, I want to talk about the responsibility that party cadres within the army have concerning the party's theoretical review. Along with reading and studying the review and making better use of it in the political and ideological activities of troops, cadres also have the responsibility of writing articles for and contributing their opinions to the review. I want to emphasize this responsibility of writing articles for the review. High ranking army cadres must take the initiative in collaborating with the Editorial Board in propagandizing and teaching the military line, thinking and views of the party in a systematic and increasingly thorough manner throughout the party, throughout the army and among all the people.

I will continue to actively collaborate with the review and urge the Editorial Board to take the initiative in giving me their opinions, guidance and assistance.

I wish you good health and victory.

I thank you.

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CSO: 4210/5



IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: SPEECH BY NGUYEN THI NHU

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 41-42

[Speech by Nguyen Thi Nhu, member of the Party Central Committee and vice  
chairwoman of the Vietnam Women's Union]

[Text] [Photograph of Nguyen Thi Nhu at rostrum appears here in text]

Dear comrades,

I am very happy to be among the contributors to COMMUNIST REVIEW and to have the honor of attending the ceremony commemorating the 30th anniversary of the review's publication and the ceremony to award the distinguished Order of Ho Chi Minh to our party's theoretical and political organ. Throughout the past 30 years, COMMUNIST REVIEW has been a voice guiding the revolutionary thinking of the entire party. I sincerely congratulate COMMUNIST REVIEW on the enormous contributions it has made. I congratulate the members of the Editorial Board and all comrades who have been and are working hard to build the party's theoretical review, that is, to help build the party in terms of its thinking, views and lines so that our party steadily overcomes the many difficulties being faced and leads the Vietnamese revolution to victory after victory.

From the perspective of my responsibility as a women proselyting cadre of the party, I am very concerned about what I see as a shortcoming among we women, namely, the fact that women have contributed very little to presenting and discussing in the review issues related to the proselyting of women, which is an important part of our party's mass work.

Today, on the occasion of this very special gathering, permit me to offer a few suggestions in the hope that they will be taken into consideration by the Editorial Board, editors and contributors of COMMUNIST REVIEW in the course of editing the review and shaping views on issues concerning our party's proselyting of women and its work among the masses.

1. COMMUNIST REVIEW should organize and coordinate forces (which are currently very decentralized and fragmented) in the systematic study of issues regarding the Vietnamese working class, youths, women, children, the nation, religions, society and so forth for the editing of all types of articles on

our party's work of mobilizing the masses in the period of the socialist revolution.

2. An appropriate percentage of the articles carried in the review during the year and in each issue should be articles that deal with politics, the economy and society and clearly define the organic relationships among these fields in order to broaden the perspective and elevate the thinking of cadres and party members. At present, very little attention is being given to social issues. Consequently, the organic relationships between the social issues and the important economic and political issues of the country are not being clearly defined. One small example of this is the family issue. In 1985, our COMMUNIST REVIEW only carried one article on the issue, an article by the woman professor Dang Thanh Le. Nevertheless, the review has at least begun to carry articles on this issue and it is my hope that this article will set in motion within the party's review a process of systematically studying and addressing this important issue.

3. The review's Editorial Board and editors should assist those who contribute articles to the review by organizing and directing their research efforts through a program developed by COMMUNIST REVIEW that is oriented in a specific direction.

I thank you for your attention. I wish you good health.

May our party's theoretical and political review forever be the torch illuminating every aspect of our party's revolutionary work.

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CSO: 4210/5

IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: SPEECH BY VU MAO

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 43-44

[Speech by Vu Mao, member of the Party Central Committee and 1st Secretary of  
the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union]

[Text] [Photograph portrait of Vu Mao appears here in text]

Dear comrades,

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW and on the occasion of the party and state awarding to the review the distinguished Order of Ho Chi Minh, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the youths of the entire country, I wholeheartedly congratulate the review on the large achievements it has recorded and the comprehensive growth it has undergone.

Throughout the past 30 years, as the theoretical and political organ of the Communist Party of Vietnam, COMMUNIST REVIEW has actively propagandized Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party and summarized the good experiences of many progressive models, thereby actively contributing to the development of the theory of the Vietnamese revolution and the struggle to build socialism and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In the nearly 55 years that have been spent building the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, under the guidance of the party and Uncle Ho, Vietnam's young generation has grown and matured to an extraordinary degree. In each stage of the revolution, the Youth Union has always been the revolutionary shock unit, the powerful militant reserve force of the party. COMMUNIST REVIEW has made tremendous contributions to the training and forging of Vietnam's young generation. Many of the articles carried in the review have guided and assisted the cadres of the Youth Union in gaining a deep understanding of the views and lines of the party, the policies and laws of the state and in doing a better job of mobilizing the mass of youths to successfully implement each resolution of the party and Youth Union.

In fulfillment of its responsibility, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has been making certain contributions to the building of the party's theoretical review for many years. Many Youth Union cadres have written

articles for the review. The Secretariat of the Youth Union Central Committee and the editor-in-chief of the review have held discussions on improving the quality of the review and strengthening the party's leadership of youths.

Dear comrades,

Political Bureau Resolution Number 26 points out: the mobilization of youths is a very important political task of the party. Successful youth work insures the continuity and continuous development of our system and guarantees the present as well as the bright future of the nation of Vietnam. Political Bureau Resolution 26 confirms the outstanding contributions that have been made by our country's youths and the rapid growth they have undergone on all fronts: security-national defense, productive labor and the building of the country. At the same time, it points out the weaknesses of youths and the work of the Youth Union (the level of socialist awareness, spirit of responsibility and sense of organization and discipline of youths are still low, the Youth Union organizations at basic units are still weak, etc.). One of the reasons for these shortcomings is the fact that many party committees and local governments do not realize the full strategic importance of the mobilization of youths. As a result, they have given light attention to and been lax in leading youth work. Some cadres and party members lack a sense of responsibility and are narrowminded in their attitude. They do not have a correct evaluation of the character of youths, do not attach importance to tapping the creative capabilities of youths, do not make efforts to meet the needs involved in the wholesome development of youths...

It is our hope that, in view of its function, COMMUNIST REVIEW will concern itself more with the education and training of youths and guide the party committees in successfully implementing the Political Bureau's resolution on strengthening the party's leadership of youth work. We suggest that the review devote more of its pages to the party's mobilization of youths and present experiences gained by the party in its leadership of youth work, especially experiences in educating the young generation. Those of us who perform Youth Union work will actively write articles for the review, supply information and materials to the review and regularly contribute opinions to the review so that it can publish an increasing number of articles on youth work.

We are confident that, under the leadership of the party, with the experience gained over the past 30 years and with the encouragement and support of its readers, COMMUNIST REVIEW will steadily record even larger achievements and be worthy of being the theoretical banner of our party.

Allow me to take this occasion to wish the members of the Editorial Board and the contributors to the review the very best of health.

I extend to you my communist greetings.

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CSO: 4210/5

IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: SPEECH BY TRAN TAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 45-46

[Speech by Tran Tan, alternate member of the Party Central Committee and  
deputy secretary of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee]

[Text] [Photograph of Tran Tan at rostrum appears here in text]

Dear comrades,

I am very honored, on behalf of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee and  
Municipal People's Committee, to attend this celebration of the 30th  
anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW, the theoretical and  
political organ of our party, and the ceremony to award the Order of Ho Chi  
Minh, the highest honor of our party and state, to the review. Permit me to  
convey, on behalf of the party organization and people of the capital of  
Hanoi, our heartiest congratulations to the Editorial Board and all editors,  
managers and support personnel of COMMUNIST REVIEW.

Dear comrades!

During the past 30 years, as a theoretical and political organ of our party,  
COMMUNIST REVIEW has regularly presented to readers at home and abroad the  
issues related to the lines and the major positions and policies of our party  
and state. Through articles that have summarized historical experience and  
delved deeply into subjects dealing with politics, the economy, society,  
philosophy, security and national defense, culture, education, the building of  
the party, administration, revolutionary mass organizations and so forth, the  
review has given our cadres, party members and people and our international  
friends a clearer understanding of our party's creative application of the  
doctrine of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of Vietnam. In particular, the  
review has helped readers, researchers and others to shed light on matters of  
theory and science contained within the line of our party, analyze the issues  
that have arisen in practice and inspire and direct the practical activities  
of basic units and the masses.

We think that the review has not only helped to deepen our pride in the heroic  
revolutionary struggle waged by our people under the leadership of the  
glorious party, the party founded and forged by the esteemed Uncle Ho, during

the past half-century, but has also given the fraternal parties and our international friends a better understanding of and respect for our party, our people, our country.

The party organization and people of the capital Hanoi have received from COMMUNIST REVIEW instructions that have given them a deeper understanding of the lines, views, positions and policies of the party. At the same time, we have learned the common experiences and the specific methods of guiding practice of the localities throughout the country, which have been analyzed and generalized through the application of theory. These have opened to us new ways of thinking and working in the practical activities of the capital. For example, new ways of thinking and working have been opened to us concerning the issues of changing and improving the management system, dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices; building the district and strengthening the district level; building the party, improving the party's ideological activities and managing party members; teaching and building upon historical and revolutionary tradition, cultivating ethics, the new way of life, etc.

The awarding by the party and state of the Order of Ho Chi Minh to COMMUNIST REVIEW on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of its publication (December 1955-December 1985) is affirmation of the important position, the solid growth and the enormous contributions of the review in the revolutionary cause of our people under the leadership of the party.

Dear comrades!

The capital Hanoi has the honor of being home to the highest leadership agencies of the party and state and the departments, sectors and mass organizations on the central level, including COMMUNIST REVIEW. As a result, the review is distributed first in Hanoi. The party organization and people of Hanoi have the honor of being the first to read the review. On this occasion, it is our hope that the review will give its attention to writing many more articles on Hanoi. Through the application of Marxist-Leninist theory and their writing skills, the Editorial Board, researchers and editors of the review should shed light on and analyze how matters pertaining to politics, the economy, society, culture, education, security-national defense, the building of the party, administration and mass organizations and so forth are dealt with in Hanoi, not only to give the entire country a clearer understanding of the capital, but also to directly inspire and assist the party organization and people of Hanoi in implementing the lines, views, positions and policies of the party and state better and being worthy of being the nerve center of the country.

As for ourselves, we promise, on this occasion, to encourage the sectors and units within our locality, especially research cadres and cadres responsible for providing guidance within the municipality, to assist the editors of the review in writing articles on Hanoi and personally write articles for the review. We will organize an effort to guide the cadres, party members and people of the capital in using COMMUNIST REVIEW to deeply study the matters of party theory and politics presented in the review, in order to improve their

understanding and ability to apply these matters in the implementation of the party's lines, views, positions and policies, and use the review to study and learn the lessons and experiences in every field of the other sectors and localities. In this way, we will elevate the thinking and continuously improve the style of guidance of the party committees, levels of administration and mass organizations within the municipality and give impetus to the revolutionary action movements of the masses to successfully perform each task assigned to the party organization and people of the capital by the Central Committee.

I wish COMMUNIST REVIEW--the theoretical and political organ of the party--continuous growth and many larger victories as the theoretical banner of our party in the new stage.

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CSO: 4210/5



IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: SPEECH BY VU XUAN CAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 47-48

[Speech by Vu Xuan Can, member of the Secretary of the Vietnam Confederation  
of Trade Unions]

[Text] [Photograph of Vu Xuan Can at rostrum appears here in text]

Dear comrades,

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST  
REVIEW--the theoretical and political organ of the Communist Party of  
Vietnam--and the occasion of the review being awarded the Order of Ho Chi  
Minh, the highest honor of our party and state, permit me, on behalf of the  
Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions, to extend heartiest congratulations to  
the leaders and all cadres, workers and civil servants of COMMUNIST REVIEW.

During the past 30 years, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee,  
COMMUNIST REVIEW has continuously grown and matured in every respect. You  
have regularly brought to the working class, to Trade Union cadres and  
members, knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, of the line, positions and policies of  
the party, of the laws of the state, of pressing international and domestic  
issues, thereby helping to cultivate the views and stand of the working class,  
cultivate socialist awareness among Trade Union cadres and the mass of manual  
workers and civil servants.

Through its function, COMMUNIST REVIEW has made positive contributions to  
clarifying many matters of theory and practice in the Vietnamese revolution,  
especially the close relationship between building the working class in a  
manner closely tied to socialist industrialization, to building an  
increasingly solid and strong party, proletarian dictatorship state and Trade  
Union organization.

We have noted, with great pleasure, that the relations between COMMUNIST  
REVIEW and the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions have been steadily  
strengthened in recent years. You have helped and enabled our Trade Union  
organization to have a voice in the party's review. You have given your  
attention to carrying in the review speeches and articles delivered and  
written by leaders of the Confederation of the Trade Unions to disseminate the

directives and resolutions and the major work policies of the confederation. As a result, the review has helped to give cadres, party members and the masses a deeper understanding of the role, position, tasks and functions of the trade unions of Vietnam, quickly transmit Trade Union policies to manual workers and civil servants and turn them into revolutionary actions. On behalf of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions, we thank you for this wholehearted and valuable assistance.

Dear comrades,

Our country's working class currently has the very important tasks of fulfilling its vanguard role and joining with all the people in achieving the full combined strength of the system of collective ownership in order to successfully build socialism, firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland and fulfill its international obligation. As the broad mass organization of the working class, as the school of socialism and communism, the school of economic management and state management, our trade unions have a very large responsibility in the struggle to carry out socialist transformation, build the new economy, build the new culture and mold the new socialist man and woman. We are trying to focus each of our activities on educating, training and building the socialist working class, on organizing and launching among manual workers and civil servants movements to emulate in productive labor and the practice of economy, eagerly become involved in science and technology, participate in practical ways in building and implementing the new management system, taking determined steps to dismantle bureaucratic centralism and shift to economic accounting and socialist business practices, display initiative and creativity and develop each capability and potential at basic units in order to develop production in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum. Together with stepping up production and participating in the management of production and the market, our trade unions will gradually improve their mode of activity, become deeply involved in production and everyday life, maintain close contact with workers, develop upon positive factors, struggle against each negative phenomena, promptly inform the party and state of the aspirations of manual workers and civil servants and work with the state to act upon reasonable proposals with the aim of overcoming the difficulties in production and the daily lives of manual workers and civil servants.

In the fields of politics and ideology, our trade unions will make a greater effort to propagandize and educate manual workers and civil servants so that they have a thorough understanding of the directives and resolutions of the party, of the new economic and social policies and a clear understanding of the socialist constitution in order to deepen their confidence in the leadership of the party, in the ability of the state to organize implementation and heighten their revolutionary vigilance so that they are ready to thwart each scheme and act of sabotage of the enemy, protect production, maintain political security and maintain social order and safety. These are the major efforts that our trade unions are organizing now. These are also issues that COMMUNIST REVIEW can continue to address, in a broader and more thorough manner, in the period that lies ahead. We are confident

that, with the wholehearted assistance of the review, our work policies will quickly be transmitted to all Trade Union levels and all cadres, manual workers and civil servants nationwide.

As for ourselves, we will make even greater efforts and take even greater initiative in coordinating with COMMUNIST REVIEW in propaganda and educational work with a view toward building a solid and strong working class, helping to build a solid and strong party and proletarian dictatorship state and meeting the requirements of the revolution in the new stage.

I extend to you my respectful greetings.

I thank you.

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CSO: 4210/5

IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: REPORT BY HONG CHUONG

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 49-56

[Report by Hong Chuong, editor-in-chief of COMMUNIST REVIEW]

[Text] Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW, we warmly welcome you and thank you for attending this formal meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the publication of the review STUDIES (15 December 1955) and the 55th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW (1 February 1931).

Dear comrades,

Exactly 30 years ago, in December 1955, the review STUDIES, now COMMUNIST REVIEW, the theoretical and political organ of the party, published its first issue. The theoretical review of the party was published in accordance with a resolution of the 7th Plenum of the 2nd Party Central Committee held from 3 to 12 March 1955. This plenum, the first plenum of the Central Committee held in the capital Hanoi following our victory in the resistance against France, decided "to publish the review STUDIES to assist in the research of policy and the teaching of ideology and begin developing the theoretical work of the party."

In keeping with this resolution of the Party Central Committee, an editorial board was established with Truong Chinh serving as editor-in-chief. In late 1955, following many months of urgent preparations, the theoretical and political review of the party made its appearance before readers. During its early years, the review was called STUDIES. In late 1976, the 4th Congress of the Party decided to change the name of our party to the Communist Party of Vietnam. In order to make the name of the party's theoretical and political review consistent with the name of the party and with the tasks of our country's revolution in the new stage, the Political Bureau of the 4th Party Central Committee, in Resolution Number 01/NQ-TU dated 5 January 1977, decided to change the name of the review from STUDIES to COMMUNIST REVIEW.

The theoretical and political review of the party has been published monthly throughout the past 30 years. It has carried on the fine tradition of the

revolutionary press of Vietnam founded by Uncle Ho. It has carried on the glorious cause of previous reviews of our party.

Dear comrades,

Our party founded and forged by Uncle Ho has always attached special importance to theoretical work, attached importance to the publication of a theoretical review. The Conference To Found the Party held from 3 to 7 February 1930 under the chairmanship of Uncle Ho decided that the Provisional Central Committee of the Party would publish a theoretical review (for the entire party) and three newspapers for propaganda purposes (one each in Bac Ky, Trung Ky and Nam Ky).

In keeping with this resolution, the Provisional Central Committee of the Party published a theoretical review called RED REVIEW. Issue number 1 of RED REVIEW appeared on 5 August 1930. Tran Phu was the founder of RED REVIEW.

In October 1930, the Party Central Committee held its first plenum. Following this plenum, the Central Committee decided to publish COMMUNIST REVIEW in place of RED REVIEW.

On 1 February 1931, COMMUNIST REVIEW, the theoretical organ of the party, published its first issue. In its "Introduction," COMMUNIST REVIEW clearly stated its objectives: "To explain the policies of the Communist International and our party and vigorously attack erroneous thinking and opportunist and factional trends in order to achieve uniformity of thought and action within the party." After the headquarters of the Party Central Committee were sacked, Tran Phu, general secretary of the party, was arrested and COMMUNIST REVIEW was forced to cease publication.

Following the ruthless campaign of terror in 1931, the supreme leadership committee of the party no longer existed within the country and the Party Central Committee was unable to publish a theoretical review.

In June 1934, with the assistance of the Communist International, an overseas leadership committee of the party headed by Le Hong Phong was established. This committee published BOLSHEVIK REVIEW. BOLSHEVIK REVIEW was "the theoretical organ of the Overseas Leadership Committee of the Indochina Communist Party." Following the party's 1st Congress (March 1935), BOLSHEVIK REVIEW became the "theoretical organ of the Indochina Communist Party." Issue number 1 of BOLSHEVIK REVIEW was published in June 1934. Le Hong Phong was the founder of BOLSHEVIK REVIEW. In 1934, 1935 and 1936, BOLSHEVIK REVIEW was printed overseas and secretly shipped into Vietnam for distribution. In late 1936, the Party Central Committee moved its headquarters back to Vietnam and began publishing BOLSHEVIK REVIEW (a new version). Issue number 1 appeared on 15 January 1937.

During the years of the democratic front movement, the Party Central Committee did not publish a theoretical review. In its resolution, the party plenum held in March 1938 stated: "The Party Central Committee must publish a clandestine review to explain those issues that cannot be discussed in public books and newspapers." However, due to the difficult circumstances that

existed then, the party was unable to publish a clandestine review as called for in this resolution.

World War II broke out and the Vietnamese revolution reached a turning point. The 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (May 1941), under the chairmanship of Uncle Ho, decided to change the focus of revolutionary strategy. National liberation became the task of foremost importance. In late 1941, the Party Central Committee published COMMUNIST REVIEW to disseminate the resolutions of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee.

In 1943, major changes occurred in the domestic and world situations. The Soviet Red Army took the offensive in the great war for national salvation. The revolutionary movement of the Vietnamese reached new stages of development. The antagonisms between France and Japan in Indochina became acute. A mass uprising to seize political power became an issue of pressing importance. The Party Central Committee decided to publish COMMUNIST REVIEW to guide the thinking of cadres and party members with the aim of eventually carrying out a mass armed uprising to put political power into the hands of the people.

The publisher of COMMUNIST REVIEW, the theoretical organ of the Party Central Committee, was Truong Chinh. Articles were written for the review by Hoang Van Thu and a number of other comrades.

On 28 February 1943, COMMUNIST REVIEW published its first issue. Issue number 2 appeared on 24 September 1943. After issue number 3 had been laid out, but before it could be printed, the general uprising erupted. Following the August Revolution (1945), the situation changed and the review was no longer published.

Along with LIBERATION FLAG [CO GIAI PHONG] Newspaper, the COMMUNIST REVIEW of that time played an important role in preparing forces for the armed uprising to seize political power in the August Revolution.

In 1950, our people's resistance against France entered a new stage. The party's ideological work demanded that it have a theoretical review. In accordance with the resolution of the party's 3rd National Conference, the Central Committee published another review called COMMUNIST REVIEW. The publisher of this COMMUNIST REVIEW was Truong Chinh. Issue number 1 was published in July 1950. Issue number 2 of the review appeared in August 1950.

In the "Introduction" printed in issue number 1, COMMUNIST REVIEW stated that the review "has the tasks of explaining the lines and positions of the party and applying Marxism-Leninism to shed light on the issues of the Indochina revolution and international issues."

After the publication of issue number 2, COMMUNIST REVIEW ceased publication (for technical reasons) (as stated in the notice carried in issue number 2). From then until the liberation of the North, the Party Central Committee, as a result of encountering numerous obstacles, was unable to publish a review.

Between the time that our party was founded (1930) and our victory in the resistance against France (1954), our Party Central Committee published a review on many different occasions. However, on each occasion, as a result of encountering very many difficulties, the party's theoretical review only remained in publication for a short period of time. This shows that it is not easy to publish a theoretical review of the party.

Following the victory at Dien Bien Phu, the Geneva Accords were signed on the basis of respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the three countries of Indochina. Our armed forces and people took over the management of the capital Hanoi. Only then did the conditions exist for regularly publishing a theoretical review of the party. The continuous publication of the party's theoretical review since 1955 is proof of the enormous victories that have been won by the Vietnamese revolution under the leadership of our party.

Dear comrades,

The party's theoretical review has been in continuous publication for 30 years. The issue of the review being published in December of this year is issue number 360. The history of the review over the past 30 years can be divided into the following three periods:

--The first period lasted from 1955 to 1964. During that period, the review supported the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North and the struggle to bring about the peaceful reunification of the country.

--The second period lasted from 1965 to 1975. During that period, the review supported the war of resistance waged by the people of our entire country against the United States for national salvation.

--The third period has been underway since 1975. During this period, the review has been supporting the socialist revolution and socialist construction nationwide and the cause of defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In each of these three periods, the review, as STUDIES and as COMMUNIST REVIEW, has played a positive role in the theoretical and ideological work of our party at all times.

Exactly 30 years ago, in an article entitled "The Publication of 'STUDIES' and the Building of the Party" carried in STUDIES Number 1, December 1955, Truong Chinh wrote:

"It is hoped that the birth of STUDIES will mark a new stride forward by our party in its theoretical and ideological work, in strengthening the party and consolidating its leadership role in every field of the work of the party and state.

It is hoped that, with the birth of STUDIES, our party will intensify the practice of criticism and self-criticism and intensify the struggle against each incorrect approach that is taken when implementing the lines and policies of the party, against each ideological distortion, of which there are



currently a rather large number in our country. At the same time, our party will advance its theory and provide guidelines for practical work, thereby overcoming the nearsighted preoccupation with daily routine that is currently widespread among cadres and party members."

Looking back on the building of the party and the work of its theoretical review during the past 30 years, we can state that these hopes of Truong Chinh, the first editor-in-chief of the party's theoretical review, have been realized to a very large degree.

In fact, during the past 30 years, together with NHAN DAN Newspaper, STUDIES-COMMUNIST REVIEW have been in the forefront of the party's ideological struggle. The review took the lead in the struggle against the reactionary thinking of the Humanism-Great Masterpieces group; against the personalism-spiritualism theory of the Ngo Dinh Diem group, the lackey of the U.S. imperialists; against modern revisionism and against dogmatism; against Maoism and every other opportunist trend; against the reactionary thinking of U.S. neo-colonialism; against bourgeois ideology and its reactionary schools of thinking, such as existentialism, the theory of convergence, etc. The review has made positive contributions to preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism and defending the revolutionary lines and views of our party.

The review has contributed to clarifying the theoretical arguments of the party concerning collective ownership; the three revolutions, that is, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution; the mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership"; the socio-economic management system, economic accounting and socialist business practices; the initial stage of the period of transition; the use of combined strength; the people's war and the national defense system of all the people; the war of liberation and the war to defend the fatherland; revolutionary qualities and ethics; the party when in political power, etc.

The review has also helped to clarify the theoretical arguments of our party concerning such international issues as the offensive position of the world revolution; the three currents of revolution in our times; peace and revolution; the non-capitalist path of development, etc.

The review has propagandized the international line and foreign policy of our party and state and taught proletarian internationalism to our cadres, party members and people. It has exposed the reactionary and bellicose nature of imperialism and the general crisis in which imperialism finds itself. It has exposed the reactionary nature and the defeats of Chinese expansionism and hegemony, thereby helping to raise our people's vigilance in the cause of defending the fatherland. It has opposed the nuclear arms race of imperialism, headed by the United States, in order to safeguard world peace. It has supported the national liberation movement and the international workers movement. The review has introduced us to the achievements and experiences of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in socialist and communist construction. The review has propagandized the victories of the revolutions of Laos and Cambodia and taught the people the obligation they

have in strengthening the special friendship among the three countries of Indochina.

However, the review also has some weaknesses and shortcomings. In some articles, theory and practice are not combined as well as they could be. The militancy of the review is still not strong. Some articles are unnecessarily long. The quality of some articles is still low. The major shortcoming of the review, one which General Secretary Le Duan pointed out, is that the economic articles carried in the review are weak. This is a shortcoming that we have yet to correct.

During the past 30 years, STUDIES-COMMUNIST REVIEW has applied Marxism-Leninism to propagandize the lines and policies of the party and state, help raise the political and theoretical standards of cadres in and outside the party, struggle against incorrect views and thinking, strengthen the unity within the party and among the people on the basis of the lines and policies of the party and state, give impetus to revolutionary action movements of the masses and contribute to summarizing the experiences of the party. The review has, under the light of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of summarizing the experiences gained in the revolution, clarified matters of major importance in the lines and policies of the party and state.

The review has been able to achieve the above mainly as a result of the correct leadership provided it by the Party Central Committee. The Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat have concerned themselves with the review and closely guided the work of the Editorial Board. During the past 30 years, not including those portions of general resolutions and directives of the party that have dealt with ideological work and been used as torches lighting the way in the editorial work of the review, the Party Central Committee has issued seven separate resolutions and directives on the work of the review. These resolutions and directives have been the compass guiding the work of the review in the various periods.

The esteemed Uncle Ho was interested in the work of the review and gave the Editorial Board valuable advice. Although busy with numerous other matters, he made time to write articles for the review. Among the articles he wrote and gave the review the honor of publishing were some that were very famous, such as "Revolutionary Ethics"(December 1958)(this article was written under the penname Tran Luc); "Molding New Socialist Men and Women"(April 1961); and "The Path to Comfort and Happiness"(May 1962).

Uncle Ho also sent to the Editorial Board a number of issues of daily newspapers in which he had outlined articles in red, especially articles on experiences in building the district level, and instructed the review to reprint these articles.

Le Duan, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong have also been very interested in the review's work. They have visited with the Editorial Board, addressed the editors and contributors of the review and given the Editorial Board valuable advice on many different occasions. They have written articles of high quality for the review.

General Secretary Le Duan has frequently met with the Editorial Board and given the board very valuable instructions concerning the work of the review. Recently, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of the review, Le Duan visited the Editorial Board and spoke to the editors and contributors of the review on many issues of theory and practice concerning the Vietnamese revolution. The interest and concern shown by the general secretary of the Central Committee are a very large source of inspiration to the cadres, personnel and contributors of the review.

As the first editor-in-chief of the review, Truong Chinh guided the review's cadres as they took their first uncertain steps. He spent much time writing, editing and reviewing articles for the review. For many years, he approved the editorials and important articles of the review. In the editing of articles, Truong Chinh not only guided the review's cadres in correcting the contents of articles, but also correcting punctuation and spelling. The style that the review has today was forged at its very inception by Truong Chinh.

The contributions made by Truong Chinh to the party's theoretical review have been very large. Today, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of the review, Council of State Chairman Truong Chinh has again sent an inspiring letter to the cadres, personnel and contributors of the review and given us valuable instructions. On behalf of the Editorial Board, we thank him and promise to follow the instructions contained in his letter to the review.

Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has also shown interest in the review. He has visited with the Editorial Board and written many articles of value for the review.

Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, To Huu, Vo Chi Cong, Hoang Tung and others have also guided the work of the review and written many articles for it.

Many other leaders of the party and state have contributed many valuable opinions to help build the review and have written many articles for the review.

The articles published in the review by leaders of the party and state over the past 30 years have had a major impact in stimulating the efforts of our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people in their work, productive labor and combat. When they receive an issue of the review, our cadres, party members and people first look for articles by leaders of the party and state in order to gain an understanding of the lines, policies and views of our party and state. The party committees of the various localities and sectors have also greatly assisted the review. They have made it possible for cadres from the review to assess the situation in order to write articles for the review. They have summarized the experience of their locality or sector and then written articles for publication in the review.

In particular, comrades within the Vietnam People's Armed Forces have written many good articles for the review. These articles have summarized the lessons

learned by our party in armed struggle and the buildup of the armed forces. They have made positive contributions to the development of Vietnam's unique military theory.

The members of the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee and comrades at the Marx-Lenin Institute have contributed to the review articles on party history, thus helping to summarize the historical experiences of the Vietnamese revolution and draw conclusions of theoretical value.

The Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School as well as the Institutes of Science have supplied many articles for the review.

Comrades engaged in practical activities within the various sectors have written for the review articles that have reflected the dynamic practice of the revolution and introduced progressive models in every field of life.

It is truly a large honor for the review to have become a center of theoretical studies, one that has gathered around itself a large corps of theorists who are politically steadfast and skilled in research and editing. These persons are the review's corps of contributors. This corps has contributed from two-thirds to three-fourths of the articles published in the review. [Photograph of audience being addressed by Hong Chuong appears here in text]

The picture would be incomplete if we failed to make some small mention of the contributions, although very modest, made by the Editorial Board. Our Editorial Board has been given the task by the Party Central Committee of organizing the editing and publishing of the review. Under the guidance of the leaders of the party and state, the members of our Editorial Board have also grown and matured over the past 30 years. We have provided about one-fifth of the articles published in the review, the majority of which have been editorials, commentaries and other unattributed articles. But our skills still fall far short of meeting the requirements of the review's tasks. Therefore, we must constantly study Marxism-Leninism, study the lines and policies of the party, delve into practice, go to where the masses are, raise our cultural and professional standards and make every effort to cultivate revolutionary ethics and qualities in order to truly become the militants of the party on the front of theory and ideology.

The review's Editorial Board has been challenged and forged in the revolutionary struggle. In the war of resistance against the United States, in keeping with the instruction from the Party Central Committee that "the review be published regardless of the situation," the review's Editorial Board remained in Hanoi during the U.S. bombings, even the B-52 bombings, and continued to organize the editing and publishing of the review. As a result, the review continued to be published monthly, even during the months of heaviest U.S. bombings, and was delivered to readers not only in all provinces of the North, but even provinces of the South.

Here, we want to especially emphasize the efforts of the workers at the COMMUNIST REVIEW printing plant, who have struggled bravely, overcome every

difficulty and shortage and worked with selfless dedication to insure that the review has come out on schedule. We also cannot forget the press distribution personnel of the posts and telecommunications sector, who bravely made their way through heavy bombings and shelling and have travelled to all regions of the country to deliver the review to readers.

At this hour, special thoughts go out to the readers of the review. We respect the letters from our readers, of which we receive thousands each year. In these letters, readers have encouraged us, informed us of the useful knowledge they have gleaned from reading the review and, at the same time, pointed out shortcomings in articles published in the review. Readers have offered their observations and criticisms of both the editing and form of the review. At the same time, they have suggested ways to improve and enhance the review.

Dear comrades,

As we look back on the past 30 years, we see that the review has recorded encouraging achievements. These achievements have been due to the correct leadership provided by the Party Central Committee; the wholehearted assistance provided by the party committees of the various levels and sectors; the close collaboration of contributors to the review; the efforts made by printing plant workers; the dedication of the personnel who distribute the review; and the valuable support of readers nationwide.

On this solemn occasion, permit me, on behalf of the Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW, to extend our deep thanks to the Party Central Committee, to the party committees of all levels and sectors, to the contributors to the review, to printing plant workers and distribution personnel, to our beloved readers nationwide and overseas.

Dear comrades,

As pointed out in the 12 December 1985 directive of the Party Secretariat, the task of COMMUNIST REVIEW in the period that lies ahead is "to help provide theoretical and practical guidance in the performance of the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the fatherland, especially the performance of socio-economic tasks, thereby contributing to preparations for the party's 6th National Congress."

In keeping with the spirit of the Secretariat's directive on the work of COMMUNIST REVIEW, our Editorial Board is determined to correct its shortcomings and weaknesses, build upon its strengths and achievements and make every effort to further increase the quality and effectiveness of the party's theoretical review. We are confident that, with the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, the concern and assistance of the party committees of all levels and sectors, the close collaboration of the

review's contributors, the efforts of printing plant workers and distribution personnel, the wholehearted support of readers and the efforts of the Editorial Board itself, COMMUNIST REVIEW will succeed in carrying out the large and glorious task assigned it by the party and people.

I thank you.

7809

CSO: 4210/5

IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: SPEECH BY HONG CHUONG ON BEHALF OF THE  
EDITORIAL BOARD ACCEPTING THE ORDER OF HO CHI MINH AWARDED TO 'COMMUNIST  
REVIEW' BY THE PARTY AND STATE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 p 57

[Speech by Hong Chuong]

[Text] Dear comrades,

It is truly a high honor for COMMUNIST REVIEW to be awarded the order that bears the name of the great Uncle Ho by the party and state. This high honor belongs to all those persons who have participated in developing the review throughout the past 30 years. First and foremost, this honor belongs to the leaders of the party and state who have written for the review articles of value, written the articles that have mainly given the review its quality and effectiveness. This honor belongs to the corps of contributors of the review, outstanding writers who have contributed two-thirds of the articles published in the review. This honor belongs to the workers at the COMMUNIST REVIEW printing plant, who have worked with selfless dedication to print the review, belongs to distribution personnel, who have overcome countless hardships to distribute the review. Our Editorial Board has the honor and responsibility of continuing to be worthy of this distinguished Order of Ho Chi Minh.

Dear comrades,

In presenting this distinguished award to COMMUNIST REVIEW, the party and state are not only expressing their high assessment of the contributions made by COMMUNIST REVIEW to the revolutionary cause of our people, but also assigning to COMMUNIST REVIEW a weighty task, the task of forever brandishing and defending the ideological banner of the great President Ho Chi Minh.

On behalf of the Editorial Board, on behalf of the editors and contributors of COMMUNIST REVIEW, we promise to the party and state that we will fulfill this weighty and glorious responsibility. We promise to make every effort to study the thinking, ethics and style of Uncle Ho, unite as one, research and edit



articles well and improve the quality and effectiveness of the review so that COMMUNIST REVIEW is worthy of being the ideological banner of Ho Chi Minh.

I thank you.

7809

CSO: 42105

IN CELEBRATION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY'S  
THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL REVIEW: LETTERS AND MESSAGES OF CONGRATULATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 58-62

[Text]                   To: the Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW  
the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of Vietnam

Dear comrades!

The Editorial Board of KOMMUNIST, the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, extends its wholehearted congratulations to the Editorial Board of COMMUNIST REVIEW, the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of the review's first issue. We have high praise for the contributions that you have made to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese for freedom and national independence and to the cause of peaceful and creative labor in the construction of the bases of socialist society nationwide. Your voice of party consciousness has been and is supporting the Communist Party of Vietnam in defining the theoretical foundations that underlie socialist construction in the country of Vietnam.

On this occasion, the Editorial Board of KOMMUNIST wishes you many achievements in propagandizing the lofty ideals of communism and many achievements in your determined and consistent implementation of the ideological line of the party.

KOMMUNIST  
Editor-in-Chief  
Kosolapov

Hanoi, 5 December 1985

To: Hong Chuong  
Editor-in-Chief of COMMUNIST REVIEW

Dear Hong Chuong,

On behalf of all the Soviet and Vietnamese cadres working at the Novosti News Agency Mission in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, I sincerely congratulate you and, through you, the cadres of COMMUNIST REVIEW on this the 30th anniversary of the publication of the review and on the occasion of your receiving the highest honor of the Vietnamese government--the Order of Ho Chi Minh.

I wish all of you many achievements in your work, good health and happiness.

Sincere regards,

Deputy Director of the Novosti News Agency Mission in Vietnam  
A. Ziuzhin

To: Hong Chuong  
Editor-in-Chief of COMMUNIST REVIEW

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW (1955-1985), I, on behalf of the collective of NHAN DAN Newspaper and myself, extend to you and the collective of COMMUNIST REVIEW the heartiest congratulations.

I wish COMMUNIST REVIEW many larger achievements in its glorious cause.

Hanoi, 3 December 1985  
Editor-in-Chief  
Hong Ha

To: Editor-in-Chief of COMMUNIST REVIEW

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW, we extend to you our hearty congratulations. We wish you larger achievements in your work.

Secretary of the Hau Giang Provincial Party Committee  
Le Phuoc Tho

To: COMMUNIST REVIEW

The Standing Committee of the Nghe Tinh Provincial Party Committee extends to you its hearty congratulations on this the 30th anniversary of the review's publication. We are extremely delighted over the rapid development of the

review. As readers of the review, we extend to you our sincere thanks. We wish you many larger achievements in your work.

The Standing Committee of the Nghe Tinh Provincial Party Committee

#### Letters from Readers

"On the occasion of COMMUNIST REVIEW being awarded the Order of Ho Chi Minh, as a reader of STUDIES (previously) and COMMUNIST REVIEW (today), permit me to congratulate the Editorial Board of the review and wish you constant good health and many even more incisive articles."

Hoang Sy Thuc  
B2-46, Vinh Ho Street, Dong Da Ward, Hanoi

"...On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW, as a regular reader of the review, I respectfully extend to the Editorial Board my communist regards. I wish our review even larger achievements.

COMMUNIST REVIEW has always been our close friend and dear comrade. The thinking of the party that has been expressed in many articles, especially articles by leaders of the party and state, has guided the actions of our cadres and party members and corrected mistakes in the implementation of the positions and policies of the party and state...

We suggest that the review give much more attention to the role and tasks of the mass organizations. The articles printed in the review should be shorter and more interesting..."

Colonel Pham Huu Loi  
Deputy Chief of the Preventive Medicine and Hygiene Office  
Military Medical Department, Ministry of National Defense

"Congratulations to the review on receiving the Order for 30 years of tenacious fighting for making many contributions to lighting the path to communism through the application of Marxist-Leninist theory."

Le Chan  
34/5A Quang Trung, P12, Go Vap District  
Ho Chi Minh City

"...On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the birth of COMMUNIST REVIEW, I extend to you a wish for good health and my sincere thanks. The review has helped me to clearly understand the theory underlying the lines and policies of the party. Partly as a result, I have steadily grown and matured in my work.

I suggest that the review carry many more articles on national defense and security, especially local military work, inspection and control work and party building..."

Pham Dinh Van  
The Huong Son Military Command, Nghe Tinh Province

"...To me, COMMUNIST REVIEW is a college, one that has helped me to make continuous progress in every aspect of my life.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW, I respectfully wish the members of the Editorial Board constant good health. May the quality of your 'product' constantly improve..."

Pham An  
The Hai Hung Grindstone Factory

"...On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW, I wish you health and success.

I suggest that the review regularly carry the section entitled Ideological Life because the articles published in this section have a good impact in the education and training of cadres and party members at basic units..."

Ngoc Van  
the Song Tra Embroidery Cooperative, Thai Binh City

"...On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the publication of COMMUNIST REVIEW, I extend to you my respectful congratulations.

As regards its contents, I suggest that COMMUNIST REVIEW carry many more articles on the experience of the fraternal countries in socialist construction, the worker movement and the developments of capitalism in the world...

As regards its form, the covers of the review should be made of thicker, better paper because every issue of the review carries articles that serve as a 'compass' and should be kept by us for future use..."

Nguyen Van An  
3-Luong Su C, Hanoi

7809  
CSO: 4210/5

BOOK REVIEW: THE FACTOR THAT DETERMINED VICTORY IN THE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES: THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 63-69

[Review by Ha Duong of Hoang Van Thai's book "The Decisive Years and Months," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985, 330 pages]

[Text] More than 10 years ago, during the years from 1973 to 1975, our entire country, from the frontlines to the rear area, experienced some exceedingly intense and heroic months and days.

Those were years and months of very important significance in the nation's history. They were years and months during which the High Command of our country's revolution and revolutionary war reached a correct, clear-sighted, bold and timely strategic decision: to bring the war to an end, liberate the South and reunify the fatherland. They were years and months during which the compatriots and soldiers of our entire country, from the South to the North, made extraordinary efforts and tremendous innovations in preparing for as well as fighting the final decisive strategic battles in the 20 year resistance against the United States for national salvation and the 30 year war of national liberation.

Now, 10 years after the spring of total victory in 1975, at the request of Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Senior General Hoang Van Thai has written a book of memoirs entitled "The Decisive Years and Months" to recall and record the major historical events that occurred in the leadership activities of the party, most directly the Political Bureau, the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the strategic staff of the party, as well as some of the diverse and dynamic activities that took place on the different battlefields, in the different fields of struggle (...) during the final years of the nation's war of liberation.

From his various positions of high responsibility, the author was able to personally guide and keep abreast of many aspects of the important activities of the General Staff as well as the various battlefields, both on the frontlines and in the rear. The majority of the first persons to read the recently released "The Decisive Years and Months"--mainly high level and middle level cadres in and outside the army--have hailed it as a good book, as a book of revolutionary and revolutionary war memoirs that is an objective,

faithful and correct reflection of those years and months, a book that contains much information, some of which is new, and satisfies the desires of cadres, soldiers and the people to learn what it was that led to our nation's great victory in a brilliant period in its history.

The signing of the Paris Agreement greatly encouraged all our people and armed forces, from the South to the North. Our people believed that they could gradually advance the revolution in the South through the struggle to implement the Paris Agreement.

In view of the actual battlefield situation and in the face of the frantic efforts by the puppets of the United States to resist and attack the revolution, the author, together with the collective of leaders and commanders and many cadres, soldiers and people, quickly reached the following conclusion: "On the battlefield, the sound of gunfire has not stopped."<sup>(1)</sup> The author devotes many pages to discussing the intention of the enemy to "sign the agreement with one hand and undermine it with the other." "As soon as the agreement was announced, they hurled their forces into a plan to 'inundate territory' throughout the South. Within the space of only a little more than 1 month after the signing of the agreement they reoccupied nearly all 394 hamlets that we had liberated just before the signing of the agreement. Meanwhile, among our cadres and people, there emerged 'two extreme tendencies': one, to consider the agreement non-existent and continue to 'forge ahead' and, the other, to not dare take up arms and fight back when the enemy was attacking us and to bind ourselves to the terms of the agreement, which had been undermined by the enemy from the very outset."

The realities of the battlefield situation during the early months of 1973 proved: "The puppet army, with the encouragement and support of the United States, was implementing a 'no ceasefire' ceasefire." Despite the signing of the agreement, the enemy continued to commit crimes on a daily basis. Blood of our compatriots and comrades was still being spilled. The sound of gunfire on the battlefield in the South was not abating, but becoming louder with each day." Accompanying the great joy that they felt following the signing of the Paris Agreement were concerns on the part of many persons that, although the United States had to sign the agreement and withdraw its forces, the Thieu administration still remained in power, the enemy's forces were still large and heavily equipped, were brazenly encroaching upon and occupying more land, were carrying out pacification and still being propped up and supported by the U.S. imperialists so that they could insanely resist and attack the revolution in the South. In the face of this situation, how would the revolution in the South move forward? Which path would it take? Which guidelines and methods would it have to adopt? Although the 9th Region was a model of how the struggle should be waged in the new circumstances, what steps had to be taken in the rest of the South and the rest of the country to advance to final victory?

On 1 June 1973, following a week of intense and thorough discussion of numerous very basic and pressing issues of the revolution in the South, the members of the Political Bureau and battlefield leaders and commanders reached unanimous agreement concerning the vital issues of decisive importance. The High Command very correctly predicted "two possibilities for the development



of the situation in the South at that time. The first was that we would, by waging an active struggle on the political, military, diplomatic and legal fronts, force the enemy to comply with the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and restore true peace. The second was that because of their exceedingly reactionary schemes and nature, the Americans and puppets would continue to intentionally violate and undermine the agreement, instigate increasing military clashes and widen the scale of the war and we would be forced to continue the revolutionary war for a while longer in order to defeat the enemy and win total victory. We tried to bring about the first possibility while preparing ourselves to deal with the second. Both of these possibilities existed and the prospects for each were changing and developing. We had to take the initiative, had to be determined and flexible." The High Command emphasized: "Regardless of which scenario occurs, the course followed by the revolution in the South can only be to win victory through violent revolutionary force. We must, in every situation, seize opportunities, maintain an offensive strategy and provide flexible guidance in order to advance the revolution in the South..."

The resolution of the 21st Plenum of the Party Central Committee was then issued and became an historic resolution. Resolution 21 evoked in us "joy over the direction being taken by the revolution in the South" and "confidence in the future of the revolutionary cause to which everyone was putting their efforts."

The central, pressing and overriding issue at that point in time was the need for us to make every effort to "create a new position, create new forces." Our forces were strong--stronger than in any preceding period--but still not strong enough to win final victory. Our position was solid--more solid than at any time since the start of the war--but not solid enough to lead to total victory.

After the adoption of Resolution 21, the "machinery" of the revolutionary war nationwide went into high gear--higher than ever before--and brought about new strides forward, strides equal to the progress made in the space of the preceding 5 or 10 years. On the great frontlines as well as in the great rear area, urgent and effective activities were carried out in many fields. "In only a short amount of time, beginning in October 1973, we managed to create, for the first time ever, a new and increasingly favorable strategic position and new, increasingly powerful forces, which we did before the onset of the 1974-1975 dry season. This new position and these new forces, which extended from the frontlines to the rear area, proved that Resolution 21 of the Central Committee was entirely accurate."

Virtually paralleling the process of creating this new position and these new forces nationwide was the process of gradually developing the "strategic plan" of the High Command to liberate the South. Positive steps had to be taken to create and seize "strategic opportunities" because "the next few years would be the most critical and the most favorable for winning decisive victory... What we needed were the determination and a plan to launch attacks that were so large and swift that the Americans and puppets had no time to react and countries with evil designs could not promptly intervene." Work began on quickly drafting the strategic plan for the 2 years 1975 and 1976. A little

more than 1 month later, on 26 August, the draft of this strategic plan was completed.

The conference of the Political Bureau and Military Commission of the Party Central Committee held from 30 September to 4 August heard reports on the strategic plan for the 2 years 1975 and 1976 and, after very deeply and comprehensively analyzing the possibility of intervention by the United States, the weaknesses and strengths of the puppets, the results achieved in our efforts to create a new position and new forces, prepare our strategy and so forth, reached the strategic decision to "mobilize the greatest possible efforts by the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people of both zones to launch the final general offensive and uprising, bring the revolutionary war to its highest stage of development, rout and wipe out the entire puppet army, attack and occupy Saigon, the central stronghold of the enemy, as well as all other cities, topple the puppet regime on the central and all other levels, put political power entirely in the hands of the people, completely liberate the South..."

In making this strategic decision, "the key factor was determining whether or not the United States could return to the South. It was our judgement in selecting this strategic opportunity that the United States could not. However, we also felt that even if the United States did return and intervene to some extent, they would still be unable to reverse the situation and we would still win victory." Following a period spent completing the preparation of this strategy in accordance with the guidelines discussed above, this strategic decision was officially endorsed at the conference of the Political Bureau and Military Commission of the Party Central Committee held in late December 1974, which was also attended by key leaders and commanders from the various battlefields in the South.

The 2 year "strategic plan" to liberate the South was considered a very bold plan. However, "the realities of the situation proved that the extraordinary strength and inexhaustible creativity of the masses on both the great frontlines and in the great rear area caused the development of history to proceed even more rapidly than our boldest projections."

All our active preparations came together and led to the "March match of wits," "my deepest impressions of which are the conferences of the Political Bureau and Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the meetings held to chart the course for our armed forces and people to victory after victory in March and also chart our nation's course to complete victory in late April."

The attack on Buon Ma Thuot, which began at dawn on 10 March, hit American and puppet leaders like a bolt of lightning. One day later, after the first meeting held in that historic month of March by the Political Bureau and Military Commission, a new possibility was discovered: "The strategic plan we adopted calls for the liberation of the South in 2 years. We recently took Phuoc Long and have now taken Buon Ma Thuot. Can we, therefore, accelerate our timetable?"

On 17 July, having virtually defeated the enemy's counter-attack around Buon Ma Thuot, we saw rather clear indications that they were withdrawing from Pleiku-Kontum. On the very next day, 18 March, the second meeting held in March of the Political Bureau and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee decided to immediately revise the strategic plan. It decided to "complete the 2 year plan for the liberation of the South in 1975."

By 24 March, the Central Highlands campaign had virtually concluded in victory. Nearly all enemy forces had been driven from this important battlefield. On the other battlefields, especially on the Hue-Da Nang front, operations were being intensified. On the morning of 25 March, at its third meeting held in March, the Political Bureau quickly saw: "A major strategic opportunity has arisen. We must rapidly mount the second strategic battle to liberate Hue-Da Nang and focus every other effort on the main objective of waging the final strategic battle and liberating Saigon before the start of the rainy season."

Following the victory of Tri Thien-Hue-Da Nang, puppet military and government leaders in practically all coastal provinces of Central Vietnam were making preparations to flee. On 31 March, at its fourth meeting in March, the Political Bureau, on the basis of its new assessment that "from the standpoint of both strategic position and military and political forces, we have the strength to overwhelm the forces of the enemy," reached a new decision: "To liberate Saigon, liberate the South as quickly as possible, ideally in April, no later."

"March 1975 can be called a remarkable month in the history of the revolution and revolutionary war in the South, a month during which we made strides that would normally require 20 years, a month during which, through four consecutive meetings of the Political Bureau and Military Commission, our party's guidance of strategy reached a new pinnacle of development," the month of those decisive years and months that left the deepest impression.

Following its meeting on 31 March and acting under the correct, clearsighted guideline "everything for the key battlefield" adopted by the High Command, the General Staff began the historic month of April with an unusual intensity and urgency. All units, organizations, sectors and levels, millions of persons in all, worked hard night and day preparing for the final strategic battle.

On the morning of 22 April, the Political Bureau observed: "The military and political opportunity for launching the general offensive on Saigon has ripened... We must take advantage of every hour, every day and attack the enemy on all fronts without delay. Timely actions at this point in time are the surest guarantee of total victory... All fronts must take prompt action and attach importance to combining military attacks and uprisings by the masses. Coordination among fronts as well as between attacks and uprisings will be achieved in the course of taking action..."

We assembled the largest force of main force units, rear service units and technical units ever assembled in the history of the Vietnamese revolutionary war in order to not only fully guarantee the success of our strategic plan to

win victory in April, but also make some preparations in case the campaign had to be extended into May.

On the morning of 26 April, through the countless achievements recorded by all the people, by all armed forces and by the entire country in making these preparations under the remarkable guidance of a High Command that adhered to the only correct guideline at that point in time--"everything for the key battlefield"--the military corps on all fronts, their strength stronger than ever, their spirit higher than ever, were ready to begin the final strategic battle of the 20 year war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and the 30 year war of national liberation." If the period from 1973 to 1975 was the decisive years and months, the historic period from 26 April, especially 29 April, to 30 April 1975 was the decisive hours in bringing to total victory the "final decisive battle" in the 45 year struggle for national liberation waged under the leadership of the party.

At dawn on the morning of 29 April, combat units on all fronts, from staging areas adjacent to Saigon-Gia Dinh, and combined mechanized corps--in perfect coordination with sapper and commando forces that had attacked and occupied bridges in advance--rapidly carried out deep penetrations along main roads, quickly made their way through the suburbs and rushed straight to the pre-selected strategic targets within Saigon, virtually in tandem with the masses in many areas in the suburbs and inner city and local armed forces combining uprisings and attacks to seize control at basic units.

At 1000 hours on 29 April, the Political Bureau and Military Commission of the Party Central Committee issued the following directive to the entire front: "Attack Saigon as planned: advance your forces as swiftly and powerfully as possible, liberate and occupy the entire city, disarm enemy forces, dissolve all levels of the enemy's government, completely crush all resistance by them..."

At 1130 hours on 30 April, many elements of the Saigon liberation force converged at "Independence Palace." The entire puppet central government was forced to unconditionally surrender. Our armed forces and people in the Mekong Delta, quickly seizing upon this major opportunity and through the combined strength of armed struggle, political struggle and enemy proselyting, through attacks and uprisings, quickly advanced on the municipalities and cities there and forced the enemy to surrender, thereby bringing about the complete liberation of the South on 30 April or 1 May. Prior to then or at the same time, enemy forces on the islands were either wiped out or forced to surrender.

The Ho Chi Minh campaign had won total victory!

The general offensive and uprising of the spring of 1975 had won total victory!

Clearly, this victory was the great, unprecedented outcome of a strategic action taken in the history of the war of national liberation in our country. It was also a military and political event rarely seen in the history of wars of liberation fought by the nations of the world.

Senior General Hoang Van Thai's memoirs "The Decisive Years and Months" virtually recreate the major historical events in the great feat of arms recorded by our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people, most importantly the activities of the High Command of Vietnam's revolution and revolutionary war during the final years and months of the resistance against the United States for national salvation.

Ten years have passed since the spring of total victory in 1975. "Looking back after 10 years, one sees the victory won by our armed forces and people in the spring of 1975 as a precious pearl that has become brighter with the passage of time." The final chapter of the memoirs, which is entitled "Some Thoughts 10 Years Later," contains his most profound thoughts on those decisive years and months and the entire heroic war of our nation in a great period of history.

"The victory in the spring of 1975 was, in terms of its breadth, depth, height and importance, the greatest epic in our nation's 4,000 year history of building and defending the country. Its reverberations have been felt at every point in time since then and will continue to be felt as long as time exists.

The victory in the spring of 1975 was a great and unprecedented leap forward in the history of our nation. It brought to a victorious end the several hundred year struggle for national liberation, a struggle filled with sacrifices and hardships, and ushered in a new era, the era of building and defending an independent, unified and socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Our nation's victory in the spring of 1975 stirred the hearts of hundreds of millions of earth's inhabitants... As the world press said at that time: when the flag of the Vietnamese revolution was raised atop 'Independence Palace' in Saigon, the 20 year 'fire storm' on our planet was extinguished and a fresh wind quickly spread far across the seas and continents to each household, each person."

"The victory in the spring of 1975 eloquently disproved the 'ever victorious' claim of the U.S. imperialists and laid to rest the myth of the 'invincibility of American air power.' At the same time, it was the last word in the debate that had been underway for years in many countries of the world over 'who will win, who will be defeated in Vietnam?'"

In his thoughts on the great victory of the Vietnamese revolution, the author tells us what it was that gave our nation the remarkable strength to record the imposing feat of arms of winning victory over the richest, most powerful, most cunning and aggressive imperialist power of our times.

The author thinks that the precious assets of our country's revolution and revolutionary war were the "historic position and decisive role of our party"; "the Central Committee of our party and the nation's Supreme Staff, which focused the clearsighted intellect and tenacious spirit of the entire party"; "the Political Bureau of our Party Central Committee...the outstanding High Command in guiding Vietnam's revolution and revolutionary war"; "President Ho Chi Minh, the brilliant strategist and great organizer of our country's

revolution and revolutionary war"; "our people, our nation and the heroes who recorded remarkable feats of arms"; "the pivotal role of our armed forces, our army"; "the organizations of the general headquarters of the Supreme Command and the General Staff," with whom the author "was closely associated for many years throughout the course of our army's growth, combat and victories"; and "the party's corps of cadres..."

The author also expresses thoughts on the country 10 years after the total victory in 1975. Whereas "the great victory we won in the spring of 1975 made our nation much stronger," "through its labor and combat in the 10 years of building and defending the socialist fatherland and fulfilling our international obligation, our nation--having overcome new challenges--is now stronger than in any previous period."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The passages contained within parentheses are excerpts from the book "The Decisive Years and Months."

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## INVESTIGATIVE REPORT ON INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SUBWARD ADMINISTRATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 70-75

[Article by Huu Duc]

[Text] Having been in existence for 4 years, the subward administration, which was organized in accordance with the 1980 Constitution, has shown that it has a position within the people's administration organizational system and within urban social life. It has recorded significant achievements. However, there are still many problems that must be solved to truly increase the effectiveness of the subward administration. Having looked into the situation within a number of subwards in Ho Chi Minh City, Haiphong and Hanoi, we have found that the following fundamental problems have arisen.

Our country currently has 847 subwards with a population of 8 million living within an area of roughly 3,388 square kilometers. The subward population accounts for 13 to 14 percent of the country's population but lives on only 1 percent of the country's land. The highest subward population is 25,000, the lowest 2,000. Each subward has from 40 to 70 neighborhood teams. Each neighborhood team encompasses 70 to 100 households consisting of 200 to 300 persons. Examined from the perspective of socio-economic conditions, one sees that the subwards are of several different types: some subwards, such as Kim Lien, Trung Tu and Giang Vo in Hanoi, have practically no small industry and handicraft production units and their population consists largely of cadres, manual workers and civil servants of the state; some subwards have a small number of small industry and handicraft units and some agricultural land or only one or the other; and some subwards have relatively large small industry and handicraft units organized as cooperatives or cooperative production teams and are capable of formulating their own plans and budgets.

The population within the subward is also diverse. It encompasses many different strata, occupations, ways of life and standards of living and rather complex social, neighborhood and family relations that are not easy to grasp. Cultural activities within the subwards differ in many respects and reflect the continued existence of ills of the old society and adverse influences from foreign countries. The enemy and undesirable elements are conspiring with one another and taking advantage of weaknesses in the subward's management to hide and to sabotage us in many fields. Living as they do within an urban



environment, the people of the subwards are sensitive to changes in the social situation and new pieces of information. However, life within the subward is not solely restricted to the subward itself, but is also related to and intertwined with life within the other subwards. As an organic part of the precinct or ward and municipality, the subward cannot maintain normal life without the management of the precinct or ward and municipality.

Clearly, the subward occupies a very important position in upholding the right of collective ownership of the people and implementing each line, position and policy of the party and state. Therefore, increasing the effectiveness of the subward administration is a pressing requirement.

Compared to the functions and tasks assigned to them, 20 to 25 percent of subward administrations are currently rated good, 60 to 65 percent are above average or average and roughly 10 percent are weak and deficient.

At those places rated good, the subward administration has generally focused its efforts on three main tasks:

- Looking after the living conditions of the people, mainly providing jobs;
- Maintaining national defense and security, maintaining social order and safety;
- Building a wholesome cultural life and helping to mold the new socialist man and woman.

In fact, the subward administration is responsible on a daily basis for performing as many as 27 different jobs, some large, some small. However, its largest job of most practical significance is to provide jobs to the people. We have found that the number of unemployed persons of work age in the municipalities today is not small. On the average, more than 200 persons reach work age within each subward each year. Only a very small percentage of these persons can be absorbed within agencies and enterprises of the state. In the subwards of Ho Chi Minh City, dependents make up 60 to 81 percent of the population. In Hanoi, dependents make up 21 to 51 percent of the subward population. Of the persons of work age managed by the subward, only a low percentage is technically skilled (5-10 percent). In Ho Chi Minh City, one subward has more than 2,000 laborers but only 237 are technically skilled. In the face of this situation, some subwards have been providing jobs to the people by restoring and developing small industry and the handicraft trades, providing work in the services and developing the household economy.

The most important requirements in restoring and developing small industry and the handicraft trades are acquiring capital and space for production. The subward people's committees at a number of places have taken the following measures: conducting basic investigations, holding symposiums and presenting specific plans for the development of small industry and the handicraft trades in order to survey the people's opinions directly or through questionnaires sent to survey the opinions of elderly persons who have lived in the subward for many years. Subward people's committees have also invited economic management cadres, such as the directors and economic specialists of state

agencies and enterprises located within the subward, to contribute their opinions and inform them of sources of raw materials and discarded materials at places with which they can enter into production or product marketing contracts. Some subwards have sent persons representing the people's committee to sign contracts and establish legally based economic ties, thereby creating a feeling of confidence and security on the part of basic production units and the people. As a result, the people have voluntarily pooled their capital and allowed collectives to rent or borrow production space. Many private households have boldly invested in equipment and machinery and become "satellites" of collective production organizations within the subward. When necessary, subward people's committees have helped collective production organizations borrow money from the people at an interest rate of 4 to 5 percent per month for a period of 3 to 6 months in order to expand production and, in this way, also compel basic production units to practice accounting, thereby insuring efficient production and correctly combining the various interests.

To solve its difficulties with raw materials, the 24th Subward of Tan Binh Ward in Ho Chi Minh City has established a team to procure materials from agricultural cooperatives and production collectives within the city and even in other provinces. The 24th Subward has also adopted a secondary production plan so that workers can keep working when electricity is lost for a long period of time or raw materials are scarce. In particular, the 24th Subward has brought the scientific and technical cadres who live within the subward into a scientific-technical team consisting of 48 persons (three of whom have a post-graduate education, 27 of whom are engineers and the rest of whom are highly skilled technical workers), who work under contracts after state working hours. This scientific team has the primary task of researching the use of domestic raw materials in the restoration and development of the subward's production. It has produced a chemical for tanning from mangrove bark (this chemical previously had to be imported), successfully made glass from Cam Rang white sand and produced lenses for high pressure lights (this product has been exported to a friendly country). The activities of the team have made an important contribution to raising the total value of the subward's small industry and handicraft output in 1985 to 220 million dong (old money), of which the subward received 7 million dong as a result of local innovations and technical advances. The additional income earned by each member of the scientific team ranges from 150 to 200 dong per month. Each year, the 24th Subward of Tan Binh Ward also holds a customer conference to sign processing, production and raw material procurement contracts. Together with its customers, it has gained experience concerning the quality and form of its products. As a result of taking dynamic steps in organizing and developing production, the 24th Subward of Tan Binh Ward has been able to provide jobs for nearly 2,000 local laborers.

Many subwards of Le Chan Ward in Haiphong have established a model for the utilization of labor within the subward: the trade training center of the ward-subward-state enterprise + small industry and handicraft cooperatives and production teams + processing and production within the household. The method of trade training employed here is to invite craftsmen and senior workers to the trade training center or basic units to teach their trade to trainees for a period of 2 to 6 months. As of October 1984, 778 percent of all age groups

(including persons returning from reeducation) have been trained in carpentry, masonry, the blacksmith trade, the weaving of wood, rattan and bamboo products and the production of embroidered and lace goods for exportation. Following their training, these persons, who possess skills equivalent to those of a grade 2 worker, have been introduced by the subward people's committee for jobs at state enterprises located within the subward that need additional labor or assigned jobs at the small industry and handicraft cooperatives and production teams of the subward. The majority of the remaining persons have returned to their households and work under contract processing goods for exportation, earning 50 to 90 dong per month (new money), thereby starting to build a stable life for themselves.

The commerce network of the subwards has contributed to the struggle against the unorganized market. Subward women's teams have been assigned the responsibility of checking to insure that products are sold at the prices posted at outdoor markets. Some of the sales points of subward marketing cooperatives have been selling goods at prices 15 to 20 percent, in some cases as much as 30 percent, lower than free market prices. On holidays and during Tet, some subwards also sell products at prices that require compensation for losses to eligible households. In Ho Chi Minh City, there were 4,479 subward sales points as of July 1985, an average of 1 for every 131 households. However, the transformation of private merchants within the subward continues to be a major problem, one concerning which positive and appropriate measures have not been taken. Through a variety of ways, private merchants are disrupting prices and posing difficulties in the daily lives of the people. In those subwards that have carried out transformation, there are still loopholes being taken advantage of by private merchants. A number of subwards in Hanoi have organized marketing cooperatives as joint ventures with private merchants in order to utilize their skills and capital; however, because these cooperatives are not being tightly managed, a situation has developed in which private merchants submit little by way of profits to the cooperative and are using the cooperative to do business in a number of other products and pose obstacles to the collection of taxes and management of the market. There are even some marketing cooperatives that have found ways to embezzle goods from the state, which they sell to private merchants in order to share in the profits. Private producers make up a rather large percentage of small industry and handicraft production units. In Haiphong, 10,000 of the 11,000 small industry and handicraft units are private producers. In Ho Chi Minh City, more than 19,000 of the 22,000 small industry and handicraft units are private producers. These private producers account for 43 percent of the total value of the city's small industry and handicraft output.

The administration of the 24th Subward of Tan Binh Ward in Ho Chi Minh City has taken good measures to transform private merchants. Public security forces, tax affairs forces, neighborhood team chiefs and the quality control group of the scientific-technical team coordinate in controlling the activities of concerned producers and businessmen and taking inventory of their products. On the basis of production plans and contracts, actual electricity consumption and the volume of procurements and sales, the subward administration has set reasonable tax rates and reduced the taxes paid by private households who join collective production organizations. Collective

production organizations that are not genuine and private producers that manufacture illegal goods must disband or shift to another area of production.

Those subwards that have been successfully providing jobs and looking after the living conditions of the people have truly managed to establish a good base for performing national defense and security tasks and maintaining social order and safety. Many subwards rely upon the chiefs and assistant chiefs of the neighborhood teams, security teams and people's control teams working in coordination with area public security forces and the subward military unit to keep abreast of the order and security situation and changes in census and household registrations and to carry out the classifying of those persons subject to classification. In conjunction with propagandizing and teaching the people of the subward to be vigilant and maintain order and security, a number of places have attached very much importance to the development of suitable forms of organization that bring the various strata of the people into the mass movement to maintain security. One subward has assigned red flag youth forces the responsibility of managing sections of streets and alleys where thefts and muggings have occurred. One subward has organized 24-hour security forces to keep watch on areas along the borders between subwards, where dishonest merchants and thieves disrupt order or hide. One subward uses gongs to sound the alarm when thefts or fires occur in order to mobilize the civil defense forces of the various blocks. One subward has adopted a detailed plan for coordinating with the agencies and enterprises located within the subward in maintaining order and security within agencies and enterprises and out in society to prevent the theft of public property and prevent goods of the state from making their way to the outside. As a result, many undesirable elements have been caught who never suspected they would be caught. Some subwards have taken the initiative in looking for work for the families of cadres, soldiers, public security personnel and members of the subward military unit in order to reduce the difficulties being experienced by them and prevent negative influences upon security forces. At the same time, they have concerned themselves with building and inspecting security forces. However, in more than a few subwards, the people's committee has yet to attach importance to the maintenance of order and security and security forces within the subward do not keep abreast of changes in the situation concerning suspects, lean heavily toward administrative management, penalties and dealing with the consequences of the incidents and cases that occur and, in particular, do not maintain close contact with the people, do not rely upon or create the conditions for the people to truly be the masters on the security front.

Significant advances have been made in organizing the cultural life of the people and helping to mold the new socialist man and woman. Some subwards have, on their own, performed minor repairs to schools, sewers, streetlights and streets; turned muddy fields and garbage dumps into playgrounds for children; opened supplementary education classes for persons unable to attend formal schools; organized "respect for age" associations for the elderly; set up files for use in conjunction with periodic medical examinations and organized the planting of medicinal herbs for use in providing health care to the people. In one subward, more than 90 percent of households meet the standards of a family of the new culture. The administration of the 3rd Subward of the 1st Precinct in Ho Chi Minh City regularly organizes seven

different types of club activities: literary-art activities, lectures, "book lovers" activities, talent training activities, physical culture and sport activities, family of the new culture activities and the raising of flowers and landscaping. These activities have the effect of educating all strata, especially youths, and have attracted 1,500 households to become members of the "family of the new culture" club, the operating costs of which are paid through voluntary contributions by member households. Many inexpensive but still joyous and pleasant weddings have been held at the subward's cultural center. Youths within the subward no longer have to borrow money for a wedding. The subward administration has also used the literary and art activities of the club to encourage families within the subward to go build new economic zones. The love and mutual assistance among the people of the subward have been strengthened. Many families encountering difficulties have received help from their neighbors in the form of money or labor. During the past several years, the people of the subwards of Ho Chi Minh City have raised funds to build 420 houses, which have been given to eligible families in need of assistance.

However, in the field of cultural life, there are more than a few problems that must still be resolved within the subward. Deserving of attention is the fact that the subward administrations have not given appropriate attention to establishing the new way of life in the areas of maintaining order and sanitation, protecting public property, practicing frugality, practicing family planning or abolishing the old way of life and its remnants, as a result of which many negative phenomena still exist. Preliminary estimates show that if each citizen of the municipalities and cities were to use electricity and water frugally and dispose of garbage at the place stipulated, the state would realize a savings of hundreds of millions of dong and tens of thousands of mandays per year. Or, if responsible agencies within the subward were to maintain close contact with each family and take positive measures, they would be able to significantly reduce the birthrate and curb and effectively prevent the negative phenomena that are creeping into the lives of families.

Looking back on the efforts of the subward administrations during the past 4 years, we see the following as the reasons why the subward administration has been able to uphold its role and be effective:

--The corps of subward cadres is united, in agreement, zealous and competent. In particular, these cadres have constantly been dynamic and creative, have not stood idly by in the face of difficulties, have not relied upon the upper levels. They have learned and gained experience in their work and know how to rely upon the people. They have developed the strengths of their subwards and discovered appropriate ways to organize the life of the subward's people.

--The subward administration has truly concerned itself with the living conditions of the people, has relied upon the people and upheld their right of collective ownership in all fields. It has successfully resolved the problems related to the life of the people, most importantly the problems of jobs, food, shelter and transportation.



--Under the close leadership of the party organization, the subward administration has tapped the strength of the mass organizations of the subward in order to perform the large and the small jobs of the subward together.

The subward has been guided and assisted by the ward and municipality, especially on jobs that exceed the capabilities of the subward.

To build upon the strongpoints, correct the shortcomings and weaknesses and further increase the effectiveness of the subward administration at this time, we think that the following steps should be taken:

1. The subward should soon be assigned authority and responsibilities consistent with the realities of life, which includes the matter of defining the substance of and limits to the economic management provided by the subward in order to tap its initiative and creativity and insure unified management by the ward or precinct and municipality. On this basis, the subward should formulate its own socio-economic plan consisting of a plan for the development of small industry and handicraft production, the development of the household economy, the development of the services, the transformation of small merchants and the management of the market; a plan for the development of culture, education, public health and physical culture-sports; and a budget revenues and expenditure plan of the subward.

The experience of Ho Chi Minh City and Haiphong have shown that as a result of adopting resolutions on assigning specific economic management authority and responsibilities to the subward, the subward administration has been able to involve itself in production and business and acquire the conditions needed to support the daily lives of the people. At the same time, the vertical sectors of the municipality have specifically defined what their responsibilities are in assisting the subward in implementing its socio-economic plan.

2. In view of the current position and tasks of the subward level, the cadres assigned to the subward should be better qualified. If the present situation persists, many places will be unable to meet the requirements of their tasks. Therefore, the majority of subward cadres should be young, able-bodied, educated persons who have been trained in economic management and who, in particular, take the initiative, are creative and dynamic.

3. The neighborhood teams should be strengthened and the activities they conduct should be practical. Most importantly, it is necessary to build a network of neighborhood team chiefs and assistant chiefs that conducts true activities, assesses the situation of the people within the teams and serves as a strong bridge between the subward administration and the people. Without a good network of neighborhood team chiefs and assistant chiefs, the subward administration will find it difficult to maintain close contact with the people, promptly handle emergencies within the subward and know the thoughts and aspirations of the people. The subward must give its attention to assisting and training this corps of team chiefs and assistant chiefs and providing them with a certain amount of incentive.

4. Appropriate methods and measures must be employed to develop the role of the subward people's council, not only during council sessions, but also when the council is not in session. The committees and members of the people's council must conduct practical activities aimed at implementing the resolutions of the people's council and supervising the implementation of these resolutions by the people's committee.

5. We must gradually establish specific regulations on the exercise of ownership within the subward and on the relationship among the party, the administration and the people within the subward with a view toward implementing and upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of the people within the subward. At the same time, attention must be given to teaching politics and ideology in interesting ways in order to raise the people's sense of ownership and improve their ability to exercise ownership.

6. It has come time to summarize and draw experience from the activities of the subward level administration during the past several years in order to augment and refine its functions and tasks and meet the new requirements being faced today. In the immediate future, the levels above the subward administration must give appropriate attention to its activities.

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## IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: SPECIAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 76-78

[Article Dac Cong]

[Text] In the new society, the working class and laboring people are the masters of society. The party and state assign specific tasks to each cadre and party member on the basis of each person's abilities and strengths. A task is generally assigned along with authority to insure that the cadre can complete the assigned task well. Therefore, every cadre and party member, whether he receives a task that is large or small, whether he works on the central or the basic level, whether he works in the city or the country, has a certain amount of authority to exercise in his work. Every public position and all authority entrusted to cadres today are the result of the long and arduous process of revolutionary struggle waged by the entire nation under the leadership of the party. The authority that each cadre and party member has is authority entrusted by the party and the people. The cadre may only exercise this authority for the sole purpose of serving the interests of the party, of the people.

However, a number of our cadres and party members are abusing the authority entrusted to them to further their personal interests and achieve ambitions and desires contrary to the virtues and qualities of the revolutionary cadre and the interests of the party and state. More than a few persons have used their position or authority to establish special benefits for themselves, benefits that go far beyond the standards set by the party and state. These are the thoughts and actions of persons who feel that they have special rights and privileges. Our party has, on many different occasions, criticized a number of cadres who, "as a result of impure motives stemming from individualism together with other kinds of non-proletarian thinking, such as paternalism, feudalism, the thinking that one has special rights and privileges (...), have caused a lack of unity and cooperation, even factionalism, among some cadres and within more than a few localities, agencies and units."(1)

The words "special rights and privileges" bring to mind something that is abnormal, something that goes beyond the general framework, beyond stipulated

rights and interests. Special rights generally go hand in hand with special privileges. Special privileges are the objective. Special rights are the means by which this objective is achieved.

The thinking that one has special rights and privileges is most often found among a number of leaders who hold important positions and authority. Here, special rights and privileges assume complex, sophisticated forms and are camouflaged as "standards," "systems," "means necessary for one's work," etc. When assigned a public position by the party and state, every cadre and party member is generally given the authority needed to perform his work and becomes eligible for certain standards and benefits, such as housing, items needed for one's work and so forth commensurate with the assigned task. However, these benefits must comply with the general, uniform regulations of the party and state. No one may take special rights and privileges for himself that conflict with the regulations of the party and state. Yet, at one place or another, violations deserving of reprimand have been occurring. An ordinary leadership cadre on the provincial level has managed to get for himself a villa complete with conveniences. A management cadre at a power management and distribution agency has his home brightly lighted and uses electricity "lavishly" both day and night at a time when the rest of his street or collective housing area is using flickering oil lamps. While in their positions, some directors and deputy directors of factories, enterprises, worksites, state farms...order their "forces" to build an estate or villa complete with orchard and fishpond to prepare for their "old age," etc. Some leadership cadres on one level or another who control many goods and materials of the state have "distributed" these items through hand carried letters and letters of introduction to their "neighbors" and "relatives" in order to "get what's there for the taking" (!)(their thinking being that no one loses but the state).

The thinking that one has special rights and privileges is not only found among some persons who hold important positions and have much authority. It is also found among ordinary cadres and personnel. For example, some personnel of the state-operated commerce sector who have an arrogant attitude and act as though they are doing you a favor, cheat when they weigh what you are buying and brazenly give you less than you are paying for right before your very eyes. If you complain or criticize them, watch out! The next time you come back to buy something, they'll get you. They will "reserve" just for you a fatty, worthless piece of meat, a box of broken beans or a bag of dirty rice while giving themselves and their relatives the best tasting, best quality items and the most favorable of terms. But this is not all. If you are a regular customer who must buy grain or food at this store, there is no telling what might happen to you.

Persons who feel that they have special rights and privileges more often than not conspire with one another to take from society. All that is necessary is for the leader of a sector or a locality to want something and he has all the followers he needs and gets whatever he wants. This is not to mention how the thinking on the part of some leadership cadres that they enjoy special rights and privileges have been combined with the thinking of localism to cause major harm to the revolution.

What concerns us now is that this thinking of enjoying special rights and privileges is rather widespread among the collectives of a number of agencies, enterprises and localities. It is the thinking of the "collective" of a guild and has become rather deeply ingrained in the minds of some strata of society, including youths. It has given rise to the attitude of "working in a trade that will make you money." This attitude is the attitude that many persons have when selecting a sector or trade, requesting a transfer and so forth. Their only objective is to benefit themselves with no regard for whether their job is consistent with their skills and strengths or whether it serves the common effort. They try to "make money" in their occupation through "plan three," "internal distribution," "the improvement of living standards," etc. Even in such sectors as culture, education and public health there are many different forms and styles of this thinking of enjoying special rights and privileges and this thinking has caused much disorder within these fields.

At present, we are shifting entirely from management characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies to economic accounting and socialist business practices and have closed many loopholes and blocked many roads used to realize illegitimate gains by some cadres and personnel whose thinking is that of individualism, is the thinking of having special rights and privileges. However, these persons have not given up. They are looking for new ways of operating, ways suited to the new conditions that exist, to further their personal interests.

The thinking that one enjoys special rights and privileges is a very dangerous malady. It is often because of divisions, factions and the loss of unity within organizations of the party, administration and mass organizations. It also causes the confidence that the masses have in the party and state to quickly decline because, as President Ho often reminded us: our people do not fear shortages, only distribution that is unfair.

In the final analysis, all expressions of the thinking that one enjoys special rights and privileges stem from individualism. Consequently, the struggle against these expressions of this thinking cannot be divorced from the effort to forge and educate cadres and party members with the aim of "enhancing their revolutionary ethics and sweeping away individualism." Everyone must be imbued with the thinking: the cadre must be the truly loyal and devoted servant of the people, must serve the people, must be concerned about matters before the people and enjoy benefits after the people. The cadre may not abuse his authority, covet personal gain or violate the interests of the state or the people. To accomplish this, the cadre must constantly cultivate revolutionary ethics. Every organization, agency and unit must constantly conduct inspections and struggle through criticism and self-criticism on the basis of current policies, procedures and regulations and the official duties and authority of cadres. They must take prompt steps to revise regulations and improve their organization to suit their new task. One very important requirement is the need to truly uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses in order to stop the thinking of enjoying special rights and privileges and discover and promptly, strictly deal with cadres who show symptoms of this malady.

Waging an effective struggle against manifestations of the thinking of enjoying special rights and privileges will make a very important contribution to fortifying and strengthening the confidence that the masses have in the socio-economic leadership and management of our party and state.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 26.

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## THE HIGH LEVEL SOVIET-U.S. DIALOGUE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 79-83

[Article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. summit in November 1985 was an important political event that drew the attention of all circles and strata of society, including average citizens in all countries on all contingents of the planet. Since then, international commentators and political activists have been continuously discussing this event. The propaganda machinery in the imperialist countries has intentionally advanced psychological warfare style arguments to distort the situation and has made erroneous observations with the aim of embellishing the so called tremendous good will of Washington and diminishing the peace line and constructive attitude of the Soviet Union.

### The Most Significant International Event in 1985

The Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva was truly the most significant international event of 1985. During the 3 days 19, 20 and 21 November 1985 it was especially frenetic for the city of Geneva. The largest communications network in the history of international communications was mobilized. Between 15 and 25 November 1985, more than 500 news programs emanating from Geneva were broadcast throughout the world. Some 700 international telephone lines were installed. The Geneva press center opened 52 communications rooms with 3,500 telephones and a network of 2,500 kilometers of lines linking the various news centers and the places where the official meetings, personal meetings and receptions of the Soviet and U.S. delegations took place. More than 5,000 reporters and commentators from the print medium, radio and television, photographers and cameramen of different nationalities covered this event.

That the Soviet-U.S. summit was the international event that received the quickest and most widespread press coverage in 1985 is easily understood. This is because the Soviet Union is the citadel of the world revolution and world peace and symbolizes all revolutionary and progressive forces of mankind and the United States is the bastion of imperialism, is the focal point of all warmongering and reactionary forces in the world. The Soviet Union speaks the voice of the just cause of the emerging new world and the United States is the spokesman for the old world that is now in the period of crisis and decline.

This is because, since Reagan took power, Washington has been pursuing a radical policy of confrontation, one that has brought U.S.-Soviet relations to their lowest level ever. In word and deed, Reagan has gone further than any U.S. president in opposing the Soviet Union, opposing communism. It was not until the end of his fifth year as president that Reagan was forced to go to Geneva to meet with the highest leader of the Soviet Union and open a new period of dialogue. It is very necessary that this change in international political life be analyzed and evaluated.

#### A Victory for Reason, a Victory for Peace

In its consistent adherence to a foreign policy of peace, the Soviet Union has always advocated that disagreements between countries that have different social systems be resolved through negotiations. In its relations with the United States, the Soviet Union has always proposed diplomatic initiatives designed to have the two leaders sit down, negotiate with each other and engage in a direct and frank exchange of opinions concerning the issues of most critical importance: stopping the arms race; reducing the arsenals of the two sides, both nuclear and conventional; preventing the militarization and making peaceful use of space; normalizing and improving Soviet-U.S. relations together with the other issues with which the two sides are concerned. During the past 6 years, Washington has rejected each of the above mentioned proposals filled with good will made by the Soviet Union.

It can be said that President Reagan's recent decision to go to Geneva and meet with General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev was a manifestation of the defeat of Washington in its foreign policy of blindly opposing the Soviet Union throughout the past 6 years. It was also proof of the fact that Reagan suffered a bitter defeat during his first term as president by not succeeding in achieving strategic military superiority over the Soviet Union, not succeeding in forcing U.S. allies to rally behind the United States in order to confront the Soviet Union together and put an end to detente with the Soviet Union.

Clearly, the frank and direct Soviet-U.S. dialogue that took place was an important victory for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; was an enormous victory for reason and justice, for the inevitable trend to resolve the common issues of the world, regional issues and issues in the relations among countries through dialogue; and was a significant victory for the peace movement on all continents, including the United States and the other developed capitalist countries.

#### Only the First Step

In terms of the substance and results of the recent Soviet-U.S. summit, we recognize that it was only the first step. Because of the nature of U.S. imperialism, because the Reagan administration refuses to abandon its policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and because vestiges of the past are still deeply entrenched in the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of U.S. imperialism, the results of the Soviet-

U.S. summit were limited in many respects and failed to satisfy the aspirations of persons of conscience throughout the world.

To begin with, as regards the order of priority in which issues would be discussed, Washington wanted to address regional issues first (the Middle East, Central America, West Asia, Southeast Asia...), with emphasis on the so called human rights issue, followed by the issue of U.S.-Soviet relations, and only then address the issue of reducing and verifying reductions in strategic weapons. Conversely, to the Soviet Union, the number one, most important and most pressing issues of decisive significance in the destiny and future of mankind have always been the issues of ending the arms race, reducing the levels of nuclear and conventional weapons, preventing the militarization of space...

However, as a result of the Soviet Union's steadfast adherence to its policy of good will and peace, the U.S. side was forced to agree in the joint declaration: "The two sides declare that they will never start a nuclear war, a war in which there can be no victor" and that "the two sides will not seek military superiority." If, in its deeds, the United States were to join the Soviet Union in correctly implementing the above mentioned agreements, the world situation would change significantly, world peace and the security of mankind would be guaranteed.

Concerning nuclear weapons and the militarization of space, the meeting produced no concrete results as proposed by the Soviet side and desired by widespread world opinion. This was because President Reagan continued to hold firmly to his stand and defend to the end the so called "Strategic Defense Initiative," that is, SDI, or the so called "Starwars Program." He also falsely characterized this strategic plan as being purely defensive in nature (!), as not designed to kill humans, but only to destroy missiles and warheads in the skies (!). Everyone knows that this plan is essentially offensive in nature because, once the United States has put a complete strategic umbrella in place, it will become more aggressive and bellicose, threaten world peace more and the danger of a nuclear explosion will be brought very much closer. However, concerning this issue, the U.S. side was forced to agree in the joint Soviet-U.S. declaration: "The two sides agree to accelerate work at these negotiations, with attention to carrying out the tasks set forth in the 8 July 1985 joint Soviet-U.S. declaration, these being: preventing an arms race in space and stopping the arms race on earth; limiting and reducing nuclear weapons and strengthening strategic stability"; "the two sides agree to intensify the bilateral discussions on the specialist level of all aspects of the issue of banning chemical weapons, including the issues of verification. The two sides also agree to begin discussions on the issue of preventing the proliferation of chemical weapons"; "the two sides confirm the need for a document containing mutually acceptable measures for building confidence and strengthening security as well as concretizing the principle of not using armed force and insuring that this principle is effectively upheld."

Will the U.S. side truly do what it has agreed to do concerning all issues currently faced, will it truly continue to engage in serious and urgent negotiations? Most importantly, will the Reagan administration truly abandon its policy of confrontation in order to continue to engage in a frank and



useful dialogue in keeping with the essential trend of our times, one that leads to concrete agreements, to concrete, verifiable solutions?

Because these questions still exist, world opinion has many reasons to be cautiously optimistic and maintains that the recent Soviet-U.S. summit was only a first step, that everything still lies ahead and time is needed to observe Washington's next actions and challenge Washington's so called good will, about which they have been constantly clamoring in the recent past.

#### Advancing the Struggle from an Offensive Posture

U.S. public opinion has stated on many different occasions that there are radical right wing powers in the United States intent on impeding the U.S.-Soviet dialogue. These are militarist forces that have close ties with the financial groups backing the production of strategic weapons, which are becoming enormously wealthy on the huge profits (in the billions of dollars) resulting from the arms race and the SDI program. It is no longer any secret when even world opinion says that Ronald Reagan, with his radical right wing political views, is a member of the far right. Consequently, there are many reasons for making the observation that Reagan is acting under political considerations designed to support his Republican Party from the start of 1986 until the mid-term elections that will be held to elect the entire House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate and state governors. He is also looking to put the Republican Party in a good position for the 1988 presidential election. Does not this former American actor want to erase his image as a notoriously hawkish Republican president in order to present himself as a dove, as a moderate who, in his heart, desires detente and peace on earth? Is not the White House engaging sleight of hand in order to win the votes of the right wing and, at the same time, gain additional support among the forces that truly desire detente? Reagan can placate the right wing by saying: rest assured, the U.S. stand is still very hard, as evidenced by the fact that SDI remains in tact. To those who advocate detente, he can declare: yes, I am pursuing a policy of detente and the reduction of tensions, please support and trust me!

As a result, progressive mankind, while clearly recognizing the initial results produced by the Soviet-U.S. summit, must be even more highly vigilant and not harbor the slightest illusions concerning the nature of imperialism. The struggle will continue to be hard and complicated. We cannot relax our vigilance or reduce the intensity of the struggle. Whereas the worldwide peace movement made an important contribution in giving impetus to the trend toward dialogue and in forcing the United States to the negotiating table, now that the summit has concluded, this movement must be even more steadfast and tenacious, must be greatly intensified, even in the United States. The peace movement must see this as an opportunity to charge forth in the midst of victory and generate strong political pressure that forces the United States to implement, through concrete actions, the agreements that have been reached and, in the immediate future, demand that Washington continue the serious negotiations with the Soviet Union at Geneva in order to reach concrete results in the areas of reducing strategic weapons; banning the militarization of space; immediately reducing the number of U.S. and Soviet missiles armed with nuclear warheads that they can fire on the territory of each other by 50

percent; pledging not to use nuclear weapons first; significantly reducing the nuclear weapons and conventional weapons of the NATO military bloc and the organization of countries participating in the Warsaw Pact on the basis of the principles of fairness and equality, as has been frequently proposed by the Soviet side.

One very gratifying sign occurred in early December 1985, immediately after the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. summit, when hundreds of famous scientists in the United States, including more than 100 Nobel Prize winners, issued a demand that the Reagan administration abandon the SDI plan--a military adventure costing more than 1 trillion dollars and lasting for 20 years--and a demand that the United States agree with the Soviet Union to only use space for peaceful purposes. With a determined spirit, peace militants in western Europe and Japan are widening the struggle for the destruction of U.S. missiles and the abandonment of U.S. bases.

In 1986, with the new forays into battle by the exceedingly powerful corps of peace militants throughout the world, the struggle for peace will surely be widened and intensified through a wide variety of forms, block the hands of the war mongers and force U.S. ruling circles to seriously carry out the agreements reached with the Soviet Union, take the next steps in the direction of frank and constructive dialogue, truly improve the international atmosphere and erase the threat of a destructive war.

Time will be needed to examine the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in practice before we can fully and accurately define its importance. The broad, closely coordinated struggle of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, the movement of workers and laborers in the capitalist countries and the widespread peace movement will surely win new victories, thereby increasing the possibilities for the Soviet-U.S. summit to assume an increasingly positive and large significance, truly become an important milestone in repulsing the imperialist powers' policy of confrontation, their arms race policy and their policy of instigating wars and opens a new period in improving the international atmosphere and completely eliminating the danger of a destructive war that threatens the life of creative labor on our beautiful planet.

[The following notice appears here in text]

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## THE ASIA-PACIFIC STRATEGY AND THE DESIGNS OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 85 pp 84-88

[Article by Phan Lang]

[Text] During the past several years, in the United States and a number of Western countries, there have been as many as 20 symposiums on the topic "the strategic position of Asia-Pacific," of "the Pacific community"--purely geographical concepts that have been advanced by the United States as a screen to conceal the implementation of a dangerous aggressive strategy: "The Asia-Pacific strategy." This strategy has also been a "number one" topic in negotiations between U.S. President Reagan and Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone, between White House and Pentagon leaders and the top officials of the Chinese expansionist and hegemonist powers.

The views expressed in commentaries carried in major U.S. newspapers have generally been as follows: "The adoption of the Asia-Pacific strategy is a significant Reagan achievement in the 4 years that he has been in power and will be the main foreign affairs task of this administration in its second term." "Rising in importance in the emergence of a changing world is the position of the long neglected Asia-Pacific region... Our planet will then spontaneously tilt in the direction of this continent and ocean." "The history of man began with the era of the Mediterranean, continued with the period of the Atlantic and is now entering the stage of the Pacific." "Asia-Pacific is of vital and increasing importance to the United States strategically, economically, politically," etc.

This is what has been written and said, these are the specific actions that have been taken: U.S. military forces in this region, which consist of nearly 150,000 troops (one-third of the total number of U.S. forces currently stationed overseas) have, in only a short period of time, been strengthened in every respect, especially air and naval forces. Some 23 destroyers, 6 new generation submarines, 16 F-16 squadrons and 116 of the most modern helicopters were urgently transferred by the Pentagon to strengthen their forces in this region. In conjunction with this, U.S. military bases in the Indian Ocean and other base complexes are being quickly expanded.

Thus, what kind of strategy is the Asia-Pacific strategy really?

The assertion that Asia-Pacific is a region long neglected by the United States is incorrect. The fact of the matter is that after it became an imperialist country and turned the Western hemisphere into its "backyard," the United States came into this region, took the 7,000 Philippine Islands from Spain and made them a U.S. colony. In 1941, the United States was the number one adversary of Japan in the so called Pacific war. Following World War II, the "old bosses" of the region, France and Great Britain, were crippled. This created a rare opportunity for the U.S. imperialists to rush in and "fill the vacuum" in the same way that they did when they kicked the French colonialists off the Indochina peninsula.

Since then, the U.S. imperialists have pursued one consistent policy: constantly consolidating their position, replacing old-style colonialism with neo-colonialism and making intensive efforts to spread their influence throughout the region.

However, because the balance of power has not been the same in every period of history, the policy being pursued by the United States in this region, besides continuity, has also been marked by different stages. The characteristics of each period have been completely dissimilar.

The defeat of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam was a major milestone. It ushered in the "post-Vietnam period," a period characterized mainly by the strategic decline of the United States; the development of cracks in the system of U.S. allies; the loss of military superiority by the United States and the establishment of a strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union; the unprecedented growth of the Soviet Union and the forces of the three revolutionary currents in the world; the emergence of the group of socialist countries on the Indochina peninsula and the positive role of this group of countries in Southeast Asia.

The start of the "post-Vietnam period" also marked the permanent end of the period in which the United States could play international gendarme by itself and realize strategic ambitions with no need for any military forces other than its own.

The Asia-Pacific strategy was put into practice primarily after the measures taken to achieve military superiority by strengthening NATO and recklessly deploying hundreds of U.S. medium-range missiles in the countries of several allies in western Europe whose territory lies near the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries failed to produce the results desired by the U.S. imperialists.

Such being the circumstances of its birth, it is clear that the Asia-Pacific strategy is not only the product of the innate bellicose and obstinate nature, but also the product of the defeated position of the U.S. imperialists and their camp.

The Asia-Pacific strategy has global objectives and is the child of the White House's policy of direct confrontation with the Soviet Union, which is aimed at disrupting the strategic balance and achieving global military superiority and military superiority within each region.

The Reagan administration has frequently stated that "wherever the Soviet Union and communism win victory, the United States and the Western world suffer a defeat," that "in every dangerous situation, communism is the center of disaster." Therefore, its policy is one of direct confrontation with the Soviet Union not only in the territory of the Soviet Union, in the territory of the countries near the Soviet Union, not only in Europe, but also in Asia and on all other continents, not only on land, but also at sea and in space.

Under the Asia-Pacific strategy, the U.S. imperialists and their camp seek to establish another "NATO" in the East in a vain attempt to encircle the Soviet Union from two strategic directions. The "Asia-Pacific community" together with the NATO aggressor military bloc, the medium-range missiles recently deployed in western Europe and the SDI program--the combination of all these "cards," according to White House calculations, will create a combined force that will help the U.S. imperialists to move ahead of the Soviet Union militarily.

In addition to being "global" in nature, the Asia-Pacific strategy also has regional objectives: blocking the forces that are struggling for national independence, for peace and social progress and struggling against imperialism and reactionaries within the region. Although the Asia-Pacific strategy is directed against such a broad array of forces, when the Reagan administration defined "communism as the center of tragedy," the central forces against which this strategy is directed inevitably became the socialist countries within the region, among which, after the Soviet Union, immediate mention must be made of Vietnam and the other countries on the Indochina peninsula, countries that are playing a major role in the maintenance of peace and stability within the region. In collaboration with reactionary powers, radical right wing forces in power within the region have been waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage in all fields--military, political, economic, diplomatic, psychological and so forth--with the aims of encircling, keeping in check, weakening and, if conditions permit, toppling the governments of the three countries of Indochina. This is the plan that the U.S. imperialists, the basic and long-range enemy of the world revolution and the revolution within the region, have been making and will continue to make every effort to carry out with a view toward blocking the influence of socialism so that they do not lose additional positions at a time when they are unable to rewin the paradises they have already lost.

In addition to military intentions it should also not be forgotten that the Asia-Pacific strategy has highly ambitious economic objectives as well.

In fact, the Pacific is a region of enormous economic potentials. It supplies to the capitalist countries two-thirds of their natural gas and petroleum, nearly 90 percent of their tin, more than 50 percent of their uranium and a large quantity of other metals. Beneath the Pacific lie 30 to 40 percent of the total petroleum and natural gas reserves of the oceans and virtually inexhaustible reserves of valuable minerals, such as iron, manganese, nickel, copper, cobalt and so forth. The countries of the Pacific account for nearly 50 percent of the industrial output of the capitalist world and consume nearly 70 percent of the exports of Japan, the United States and China and more than 70 percent of the exports of the countries of Southeast Asia.

The Pacific is also a region that has many extremely important trans-oceanic transportation routes, along which lie many major seaports and many international finance and money centers. Air transportation routes have also rapidly developed within the region. As a result, trade among the region's countries has steadily increased.

Due to this exceedingly important economic position, Japan announced in 1963 its plan to establish a so called "Asia-Pacific community," a plan designed to achieve economic, political and military expansion within the region. Later, the United States coordinated its actions with Japan and became the mastermind. Since the Vietnam war, there has been a tendency in the United States to shift political, military and economic emphasis from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. This tendency grew in strength when China began its open collaboration with the United States, betrayed the Soviet Union and betrayed Vietnam. During the Reagan administration's first term, two way trade between the United States and the countries of the Asia-Pacific region exceeded the level of trade between the United States and Europe for the first time in U.S. foreign trade history. Top White House officials have come in a steady stream to this underdeveloped region of abundant manpower and resources to sell the formula "U.S. investment capital and technology + the manpower and natural resources of Asia-Pacific" in the hope of turning this region into a market for goods, into an important source of raw materials and cheap manpower in order to resolve the towering difficulties being faced by U.S. industry, in order to "first get themselves into the yard so that they can then get into the kitchen," that is, get a foothold through trade and then proceed to monopolize the countries of the region economically and politically and keep them within the sphere of influence of the United States and the West.

At the very outset, many observers in the world directed the attention of public opinion to how the Reagan administration intended to line up its forces when adopting the Asia-Pacific strategy. The strategic forces envisioned by the United States for this strategy are as follows: lined up behind U.S. military forces are Japan, then South Korea (in fact, even Taiwan). It must be pointed out that, in Japan, the Nakasone administration has gone further than any previous administration in collaborating with the United States by making commitments to turn Japan into an unsinkable U.S. aircraft carrier, accelerating the restoration of militarism, increasing the military budget at a rate exceeding traditional limits and supporting the United States in the nuclear arms race and the development of the SDI program, a dangerous program that is opposed by some U.S. allies. It is chiefly through this reactionary role being played by the Nakasone administration that the U.S.-Japan-South Korea military alliance is taking shape in practical terms and giving the United States its most solid base for implementing its military strategy in the Asia-Pacific region.

In addition, the United States is looking for ways to draw ANZUS (which consists of the United States, Australia and New Zealand) in the South into its strategy in the hope of having this bloc play the role as activist of the "Asia-Pacific community." With the United States unable to succeed in "reviving SEATO" in any form, the ASEAN countries are being enticed to join the community by the formula: "bilateral and trilateral U.S. ties" with each country or each group of countries within this bloc.



Drawing China into the eastern front headed by the United States with the aim of opposing the Soviet Union, opposing Vietnam and the Asian revolution is one of the most important considerations of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region. In fact, this objective was clearly stated in the Platform of the U.S. Republican Party, an anti-communist declaration by the whole of capitalism in our age. This hope that Washington has pinned upon Beijing, is, in fact, not the least bit illusory. Many persons have not forgotten that Deng Xiaoping volunteered very early on to turn China into an eastern NATO. When the United States put its Asia-Pacific military strategy into effect, Deng Xiaoping quickly announced his support of "the United States concentrating weapons and means of war in this region" and maintained that the activities of the United States in the Pacific are "defensive," are directed against "expansion by the Soviet Union"! Both Zhao Ziyang, during his visit to the United States, and Reagan, during his visit to China, publicly called for the United States and China to strengthen their forces in the Pacific to block the so called "growth of Soviet military power" in this region. In Honolulu prior to departing for Beijing, Reagan, as a result of pinning hopes on China in the Asia-Pacific strategy, proclaimed: "The Pacific, not Europe, will play the main role in the future of the United States." The 30 March 1984 issue of China's PEOPLE'S DAILY carried the following provocative and venomous remarks: "The hard line policy of the Reagan administration toward the Soviet Union is supported by very many countries in Asia, including Australia and New Zealand. This shows the United States that it is necessary as well as possible to send large forces into the Asia-Pacific region to prevent the Soviet Union from achieving the dominant military position in Asia."

According to the 14 July 1983 issue of FAR EAST ECONOMIC REVIEW, China set terms for its joining the "Pacific community"--an integral part of the Asia-Pacific strategy of the United States--namely, that the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries be excluded from participating in this plan. Clearly, China is "coordinating its actions," "coordinating its strategy with the United States" within the Asia-Pacific strategy of the United States, is the accomplice of the United States in every activity against the revolution, from Northeast Asia down to Southeast Asia, to West Asia and the Indian Ocean.

Immediately after the Asia-Pacific strategy was born, many persons raised serious questions concerning its future and pointed out that these alignments of forces frequently only lead to a hastily assembled "loose-knit community" of "strange bedfellows" that have as much in common as they do counterproductive strategies.

In fact, a multitude of antagonisms has emerged. First, there is the antagonism between the United States and the other members of the community, as typified by the antagonism between the United States and New Zealand. This antagonism has become so sharp that it has led to a crisis which threatens to break ANZUS apart. Secondly, there is the antagonism between the member countries and China. In order for China to play the role desired by the United States, the Reagan administration has decided to strengthen its military cooperation with China. But this has caused deep concerns within ASEAN, which is made up of countries that have been and continue to be targets of China's policy of expansionism and hegemony because China still has not



severed its ties with underground subversive organizations. The United States joining hands with Beijing creates an even greater threat to peace and stability within the region. Thirdly, there is the contradiction between the United States and Japan, between the United States and China. Japan still considers Southeast Asia and Asia, in general, to be its "domestic market." Is Japan likely to sit idly by and allow the United States to rush in and take markets, sources of raw materials and other resources from it? In strengthening its relations with Chinese expansionist and hegemonist powers, the Reagan administration is "helping" this "friendly" country. However, the United States certainly will never help this "friend" become a dangerous adversary. As for China, when the conditions are right, it will not hesitate to kick out the United States, as it has done and is doing at a number of places within the region.

Clearly, the Asia-Pacific community is not a community but a disorganized assemblage. Disregarding the resistance they are sure to encounter from revolutionary forces, it can be asked if the U.S. imperialists and their camp can, through this tool, achieve the objectives that they had resigned themselves to being unable to achieve even during the "pre-Vietnam" period?

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## COVER PAGES

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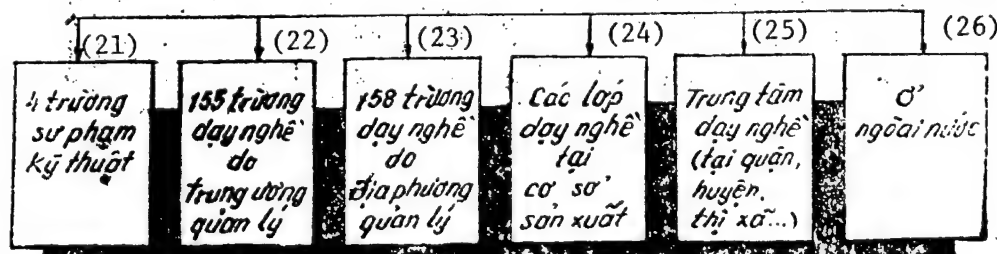
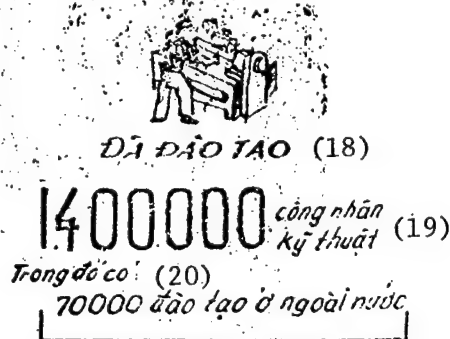
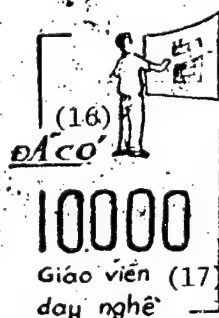
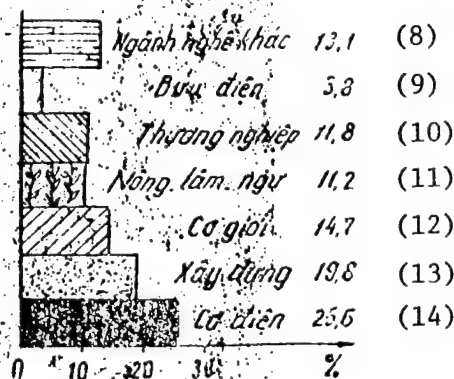
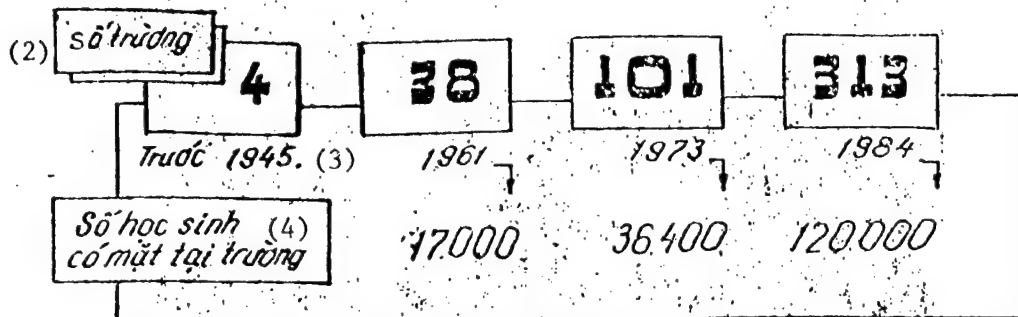
[Text] Inside Back Cover

[See chart on following page]

### Key:

1. The achievements of the trade training sector:
2. Number of schools
3. Prior to 1945
4. Enrollment
5. Schools provide training in
6. 396 trades
7. Broken down as follows:
8. Other trades
9. Posts-telecommunications
10. Commerce
11. Agriculture, forestry and fishing
12. Engineering
13. Building
14. Mechanical-electrical
15. Youths counselled to learn a trade at one of the following training units:
16. Now working
17. 10,000 trade training instructors
18. Trained
19. 1,400,000 technical workers
20. Including 70,000 trained overseas
21. 4 technical normal schools
22. 155 trade training schools managed by the central level
23. 158 trade training schools managed by the local level
24. Trade training classes at basic production units
25. Trade training centers (in the wards, districts, cities...)
26. Overseas

# (1) thành tựu **NGÀNH DẠY NGHỀ:**



## Outside Back Cover

The glory of being a soldier--defending the fatherland [these words appear on a drawing by Xuan Dong, Ho Chi Minh City, of a young soldier marching in ranks toward the viewer. The soldier is holding his rifle upright in front of his chest. In the upper left-hand of the background of the drawing is the emblem of the Vietnam People's Army]

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